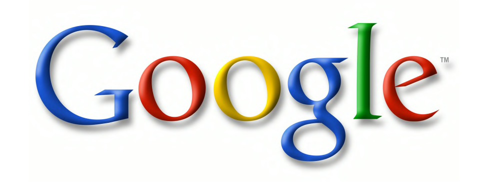
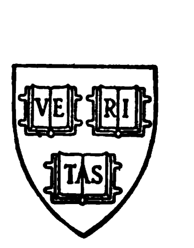
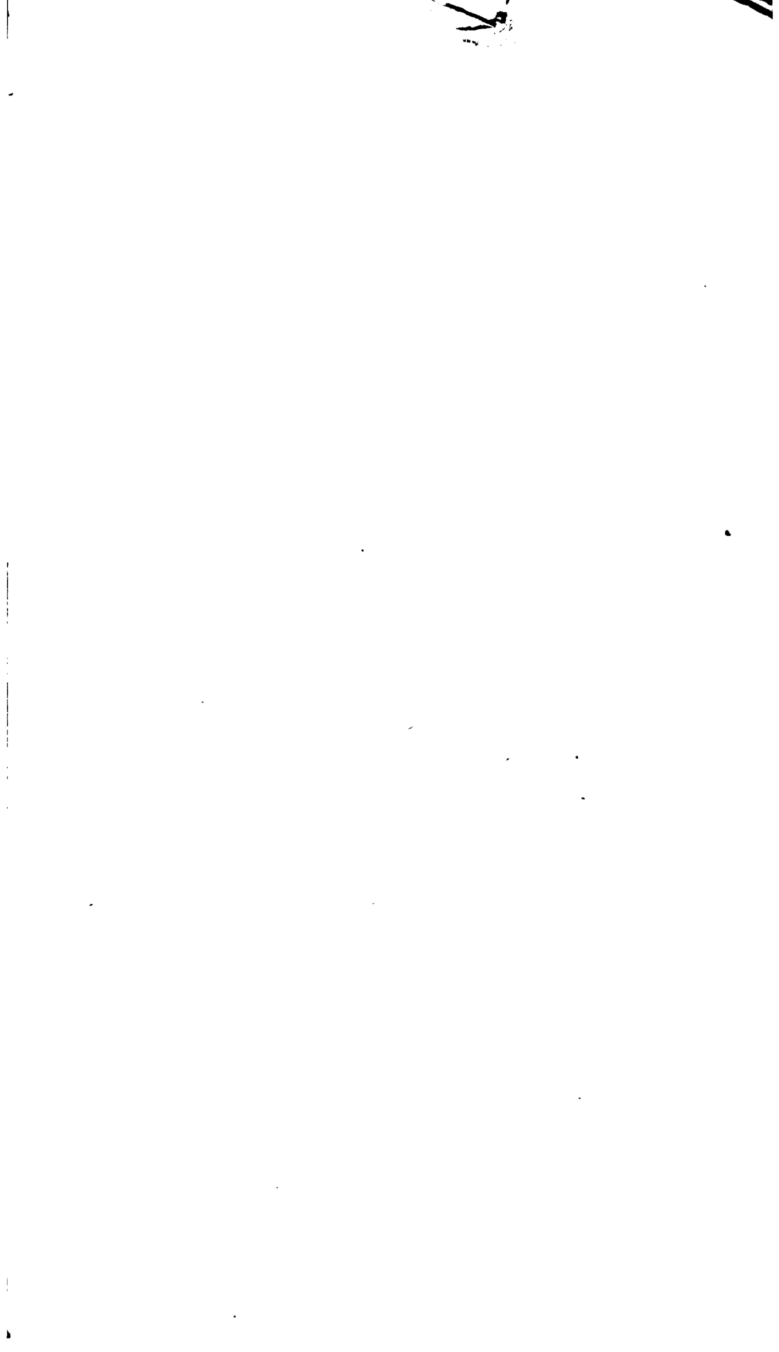










NICHOLAS THE FIRST.

Henry Colburn. Publisher. Great Marlborough St. 1846.

RUSSIA

UNDER

THE AUTOCRAT,

NICHOLAS THE FIRST.

BY

IVAN GOLOVINE,

A RUSSIAN SUBJECT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,

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PREFACE.

Thomas Golowyn being summoned by Boris Godunof to return to his country, replied, "I will return when three proverbs shall have ceased to be current in Russia: 'Everything that is mine belongs to the Czar;' 'Near the Czar, near death;' 'Do not fear the judgment, fear the judge*.'"

Above two centuries have elapsed since these words were spoken, and have effected but slight alleviations of the misfortunes of

* Thomas Golowyn emigrated to Lithuania, where he died; his descendants still exist in that country.

Russia. Sequestration is still combined with confiscation, in spite of the laws which expressly prohibit it; the approach of the Czar forebodes no good to any but the courtiers, for persecution follows independent and enlightened men, and, to this hour, a Russian judge is only an executioner. The proverbs of that day have been replaced by new ones, such as: "God is high, and the Czar afar off;" "He who serves repines," in spite of the other maxim; "Prayer to God and service to the Sovereign are never fruitless." Abuses of a different nature have succeeded ancient cruelties, and had I chosen to imitate the bold language of my ancestor, I should have said: I will return when the whole of Russia shall have advanced to the fourteenth class (persons of the fourteen classes are not liable to be beaten); when a German shall not be more highly esteemed than a Russian, and when

the pen shall have the weight of iron in the social scale.

My happiness could not be complete without that of my fellow-citizens. And as I could not expect to see this wish speedily realized, and was unable efficiently to contribute towards it in my own country, I renounced it with the less regret, because I trusted that I might render it greater service in a foreign land.

I am not the first, nor shall I be the last to deplore the servitude of Russia, and to protest against its oppressors; never shall I attain the energy of the Russian poet who said:

"In Russia the Czar and the knout are honoured; and the Russians, O fools! cry Hurrah! it is time to beat us!" nor do I aspire to the elevation of another who exclaims:

"I have seen enslaved Russia, clanking

her chains, and bowing her neck under the yoke, lying prostrate at the foot of the altar and praying for the Czar."

If I have spoken ill of Russia, it arises solely from the affection which I bear her. We look with comparative indifference upon those faults in a stranger which offend us in our own brethren; and we are more rigid towards those whom we love, than those in whom we take but little interest. Independently of this, I regard Russia as an abstract idea, great and beautiful, which I delight to elevate in the dreams of futurity.

Still less have I thought myself called upon to manifest indulgence towards the Government. As the author of the innumerable ills which afflict Russia, any indulgence towards it would have been an evidence of pusillanimity. Its injustice towards myself has not, however, made me unjust towards it; but, on the contrary,

has increased my circumspection by demonstrating to me the iniquity of all injustice.

Men in power dare not, or will not raise their voice. They fish in troubled waters, and are therefore anxious to keep them so. They, in fact, are the traitors and betrayers of their country, and it is they who are the veritable revolutionists. Does not the man who boldly asserts his freedom, and dares to unveil the unworthiness and the ignorance of the Government, call down upon himself only indignation and contempt?

Publicity has this advantage, that error necessarily falls to the ground, while truth survives and perpetuates itself. This will be the case with the present work, and every consequent persecution directed against me will be the offspring of blindness or bad faith, which overlook the motive, and regard merely the present effect.

I have related no anecdotes but such as merit entire confidence, on account of the source whence they are derived. Their authenticity will give them weight with the public, and procure for them even a place in history, for they will tend to illustrate the characters of the individuals to whom they relate. Of great men and good sovereigns, such traits only are recorded as do them honour; whereas of wicked men, and of feeble sovereigns, we have merely statements which it is distressing to relate.

Had I retained what I have thought it my duty to suppress, and were I to acquaint my readers with the rigid scrutiny to which I submitted all I have brought forward, they would not entertain a doubt of the veracity of my narrative; suffice it, however, to declare that I have not invented anything.

On the Emperor Nicholas alone it, however, depends to prove that my judgment of his merits is erroneous, and that he is worthy to reign over the people committed to his care. Let him command his acolytes. Let him say to Orloff, that he intends, henceforth, to govern by mildness, sincerity, and confidence, and to abolish his secret police. Let him say to Bludoff, that after having collected the Russian laws he is convinced that they are only fit to be thrown into the fire, as being unworthy of the age in which we live; unworthy of God and of man; and that in their place he will substitute laws of justice and equity. Let him say to Panin, that robbers shall no longer be in power, but in Siberia. Let him say to Uwarof, that he will no longer tolerate the charlatanism of civilization, and that he desires to

render it as pure as heaven. Let him say to Perowsky, that his name shall be allied to the greatest work of the age, the emancipation of the serfs; let him declare, that if the nobles have not enfranchised their peasants within a specified period, they shall be compelled to do so by the law, for that it is an anomaly to have slaves in a christian land. Let him say to Nesselrode, that France, the centre of civilization, deserves his high esteem, and can no longer be his enemy. Let him also say, that the past sufferings of Poland shall suffice, and that God, having caused the scales to fall from his eyes, he at once relieves Poland from her cruel chains.

And after having said this, let him carry it into effect. Then will history correct her sentence; and will say, that, after having sinned deeply, Nicholas has deeply

repented; and she will place his name by the side of those whom nations love to revere.

Is the unanimous disapprobation which is excited by all his actions, to be counted for nothing? Does he think that error and falsehood exist only in the civilized world, and that wisdom and honour are exclusively on his side? If it be delightful to govern as absolute master, it is surely far more so to give liberty to the nations governed; but this joy is the lot of pure and noble souls alone.

Paris, 14*th July*, 1845.

RUSSIA

UNDER

NICHOLAS THE FIRST.

MY PERSECUTION.

On the 11th of March, 1843, I was summoned to the office of the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris; I accordingly went thither the next day, and, after being desired to take a seat, his Excellency said:

"Sir, I have received, under the date of the 23rd of February, O. S., the following instructions:

"'YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"'It is the pleasure of his Majesty the Emperor, that, on the receipt of these presents, you forthwith send for Prince Peter Dolgorucky, and Mr. Ivan Golowyn, and admonish them instantly to quit Paris and repair to St. Petersburg.

"'You are not to accept of any excuse whatever, neither sickness, nor other pretext, and you will inform them, that, in case of disobedience, they will be proceeded against as rebels to the Imperial will, with all the rigour of the laws.

(Signed) NESSELRODE.'"

After having read this letter, M. Kisselef said, "When shall you set out?"

"I quitted Russia on account of my health, and have always regretted that I could not return thither; but it would be impossible for me to do so at this moment."

"I cannot admit of this excuse."

"I hope that his Majesty the Emperor will have the goodness to accept it."

"You have just heard that I cannot accept of any pretext."

"It is no pretext. I can produce medical certificates of the bad state of my health."

"When do you desire that I should give you your passport?"

"I have already informed your Excellency, that it is impossible for me to leave Paris just now."

"What then, would you have me do?"

"Make your report accordingly."

"I dare not; write yourself."

"I will do so."

"But do you not see that it is the will of the Emperor that you should return instantly?"

"My illness is the will of God," I replied, and bowing to his Excellency, withdrew from the apartment; Prince Dolgorucky entered almost immediately after.

In the course of the same day I sent the following letter, addressed to M. Kisselef:

"Your Excellency,

"It has always been my desire to return to my country as soon as possible. I quitted it only on account of the shattered state of my health, and would gladly have obeyed the summons which I have just received; but my illness will not, at present, permit me to undertake so fatiguing a journey. I trust that my life may yet be useful to his Majesty the Emperor, and that I may not be deprived, by a premature death of the ability to confound malignity and destroy calumny. I rely on the clemency and justice of our most gracious Sovereign, and humbly solicit that my journey may be deferred till my health shall be improved; as soon as ever I am able, I will set out for St. Petersburg. I have the honour to annex a medical certificate.

"*Paris*, 12*th March*, 1843."

I could not divine the cause of my recall. Every Russian noble is permitted to reside five years in foreign countries, and my passport was dated only a year and a half back. There was absolutely nothing with which I could charge myself. Count Benkendorf, the Minister of Police, had not even condescended to inform me of the cause which induced the Russian Government to treat me thus arbitrarily. He had merely stated to my brother that the Emperor deemed my residence at Paris perfectly useless, and had the goodness to promise that he would *defend me* on my return, if it were true, as he had been told, that *I had a good heart.* Prince Dolgorucky had shortly before published a little work, entitled, "*Notice sur les principales Familles de la Russie, par Le Comte Almagro.*" This pamphlet had excited the indignation of several nobles, and of some high Russian functionaries. The Prince had given occa-

sion to his recall by placing a history of the Romanoffs, which was nearly finished, under the protection of France, and as I had myself just put to the press a treatise on Political Economy, I had no doubt that offence had been taken at my doing so, although the contents of my work were entirely unknown.

Are Russians prohibited from printing their writings in a foreign country? Before proceeding to the publication of my work, I had sent to the Parisian correspondent of the Minister of Public Instruction, to ascertain whether I was authorized in doing so. He informed me that, strictly speaking, it was prohibited to print anything in foreign countries; that the engagement which ought to be signed by those who take out passports contained this prohibition, but that passports were generally obtained without imposing any restriction. He further stated that it was an every-day occurrence for Russians to publish works

out of their country, and that I might consequently do the same without the slightest hesitation. "If your book," he added, "is against Russia, the Government will in all probability punish you; if it is not, it will wink at it; and if it is favourable, it may even reward you." I asked him if I might rely upon his statements? He replied, "You may consider them as official."

I accordingly hastened to communicate to him the news of my recall, and said, "that being convinced of my perfect innocence, I could not account for this rigour, except on the ground of my publication." He had the kindness instantly to write to Count Benkendorf, to tell him that my work was very different from that of Prince Dolgorucky, being entirely of a scientific nature, and rather favourable than otherwise to Russia.

The Russian law is decisive; it commands every subject to return to his country at the first summons; there is, however, ano-

ther law equally explicit, which says that, after sentence passed, or even *on a mere order of the Government*, a person may be exiled to the provinces of the interior; and those on the confines of Siberia, namely: Viatka, Perm, and Volgoda, are generally selected. I was conscious that I was innocent, but who would say that I had not been calumniated? Russian spies are very numerous at Paris, more so than in any other city; and a slight offence given to one of these gentlemen is quite sufficient to induce him to inform against the offender to a superior authority, indeed they often gladly seize some opportunity of this kind to obtain favour, or at all events to evidence that they have earned their salary; because those spies who are too sparing of their reports, are suspected, or dismissed. Informers enjoy the strictest incognito; they are never confronted with the accused, and their word has more weight than that of honest men. Persons, perfectly free from reproach, have

been recalled to Russia on a bare suspicion of liberalism, and even when they have wholly escaped punishment, because neither word nor deed could be alleged against them, they have nevertheless been shackled in their future career. A caprice of Count Nesselrode had already induced me to renounce every branch of public service; and I was certainly not disposed to subject myself anew to humiliation. As my recall would necessarily become public, no justification could have secured my innocence against suspicion. My best defence was my book. I therefore considered it advisable to publish it; besides I could not renounce the satisfaction of giving to the world the fruit of many years' study. I loved, and still love, my country, as much as any man; and because I loved it, I was desirous to contribute to the utmost of my power to efface the epithet of *barbarism* by which we are stigmatised all over Europe.

If I do not here speak of the rights of man,

or of the rights of civilization, which are superior to all laws, especially to iniquitous laws, rights which are utterly trampled under foot, and which I saw shamefully violated in my own case, it is simply because I am anxious not to soar above the comprehension of the Russian Government.

I resolved to use all possible circumspection in order to gain over those, who, though they did not participate in my views, merited my esteem. I therefore saved appearances, by declaring myself ill, which was in fact the case.

On the 13th I was visited by a secretary of the Embassy, who requested me, in the name of the Ambassador, at least to set out for Germany, in order that his Excellency might be able to inform the Government of my departure in obedience to its mandate. I replied that I had no confidence in the German physicians; upon which he begged me at least to fix the time of my departure; but as it was utterly out of my

power to tell how long my illness might continue, I could not comply with this fresh proposition. On the following day the same gentleman invited me, by a note, to modify my letter conformably to his suggestion. This proceeding on his part met with no better success than the first.

The next day, a person attached to the Legation called on me to say that he had read the draught of the report which had just been prepared respecting my affairs; he added that I must look to the consequences if I did not make some alteration in my letter, because, as Prince Dolgorucky had fixed the time for his return, he was of opinion that the anger of the Emperor would fall upon me alone. Persuaded that I should gain everything by gaining time, and being well aware of the intractable spirit of the Czar, I withdrew my first letter and substituted another, of the following tenor:—

"YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"I should unresistingly have obeyed the direction which I have just received, and have set out immediately, but cannot do so, as the state of my health does not permit me to bear the motion of a carriage; and, as the approaching opening of the navigation will afford me the means of returning more speedily, I intend, as in duty bound, to embark on board the first steamer. I have the honour to inclose the certificate attesting the bad state of my health."

The answer of Count Benkendorf to his correspondent was not delayed.—"As for M. Golowyn," he wrote, "you may be perfectly easy on his account: *nous n'avons pas de corps de délit contre lui* (these are the very words of the letter, which was in French.) In fact, it was only a measure of precaution, and not of repression. This affair will go no farther."

Was not this a plain declaration of my innocence? But, in this case, why should I be persecuted? By way of *precaution?* Would it not be equally reasonable, arbitrarily to lay hold on passengers in the streets and incarcerate them, lest they should commit some crime? Would it not be acting in the spirit of certain owners of serfs, who beat their people in anticipation of the faults which they may hereafter commit; or, who, acknowledging that they have punished them wrongfully, promise to place the castigation to their credit against the next time? Could that be called a measure of *precaution* which would bring confusion and terror into a family, excite a vast sensation in Paris and Petersburg, and in the face of Europe be equivalent to a confession that an author was recalled on account of a work which was still in his desk or in the press? It is true that I had been advised to keep the whole affair perfectly secret. Count Benkendorf

had a two-fold reason for this advice: "the Emperor's will is that his subjects shall keep quiet in foreign countries; and we by no means desire that they should publish anything whatever."

Relying on the letter of the chief of the gens d'armes to his correspondent, I believed that, like many other precipitate measures of the Russian Government, this whole affair would lead to no result; and especially because there were precedents which authorized me to arrive at this conclusion. I sent two copies of my *Economie Politique* to St. Petersburg, one intended for the Emperor, and the other for the Minister of Police; and I then repaired to the Pyrenees for the benefit of the waters. Count Benkendorf did not take the trouble of reading more than the Preface, which he considered very inflammatory, because I therein claimed the hospitality of France for my views. He severely reprimanded his correspondent for having misled him

respecting the spirit of my publication. The censorship of the Press, after a long delay, suffered the book to pass, but cut out several leaves; this, added to the intelligence that Prince Dolgorucky had just been banished to Viatka, was calculated to fill me with well-grounded apprehensions for the fate that might await me on my return.

I was fully resolved not to set out for Russia without a positive assurance that I should not be molested, and as I had not received any notice for several months, I wrote the following letter to the Minister of Police, from Cauterets, on the 15th of August, 1843:—

"Sir,

"Several months ago I had the honour to forward to St. Petersburg two copies of my last work; I intended one for his Majesty the Emperor, and the other for your Excellency; but as I have not

received any answer, I fear that ill-founded apprehension may have hindered my brother from sending these books to their destination. In this case I request that your Excellency will have the goodness to relieve my brother from any such groundless fears, and further, to do me the favour to accept one copy, and to present the other to our august Sovereign, with an expression of my extreme regret at being unable to lay it in person at his Majesty's feet, because a serious illness still keeps me at a distance from my country.

"Accept, &c. &c."

On my return to Paris, the Russian Legation transmitted to me a paper, signed "Douvelt," dated 1st (12th) September, 1843, of the following tenor:—

"Sir,

"Count Benkendorf, the Adjutant-General, having been informed that you

have ventured, without asking permission, to go from Paris to the Pyrenees, for the benefit of the mineral waters, in defiance of the *supreme* order which you received in March last to return to Russia, and of your own declaration in writing that you would set out at the opening of the navigation by the first steamer, his Excellency has instructed me to acquaint you that he confines himself to repeating, for the last time, the order to fulfil your duty, and to return immediately to St. Petersburg, without availing yourself of any pretext whatever. If you do not comply, his Excellency will make his humble report to his Majesty the Emperor, your very delay in obeying his Majesty's order will be a great crime, and you will have incurred a heavy legal responsibility.

"While I thus obey the orders of Count Alexander Christophorovitsch, I have the honour to assure you of my sincere regard and devotion."

To this I instantly sent the following reply:—

"Sir,

"What answer can I make to the official notice which you did me the honour to cause to be addressed to me under the date of the 1st of September, and which was not delivered to me, by the Legation, until the 22nd of November? If I should speak to you of the cause which detains me here, you have an answer at hand: you will not listen to any objection. My illness, and the course of medicine which I am now undergoing, only excite your displeasure, and this is not calculated to ease my mind respecting the fate which may attend me on my return. Shall I speak of my innocence? You are as fully convinced of it as I am myself; and was I not justified in inferring, from your own words, that 'you had no crime wherewith to charge me, and that the affair would go no further,'

permission to go wherever I pleased? Must I assert my devotedness to my Sovereign? History bears testimony that my family has served the throne more than any other, and certainly I have not been an exception. I have only made use of the freedom of the press to consolidate the glory of my country. It is easy to serve it in prosperity; but it is difficult to do so in adversity. My crimes are my illness and powers of mind, and yet you will not leave me, as an indemnification, the faculty which is granted to the meanest subject, that of moving about at will. Nothing, therefore, remains for me but to assure you of my high esteem, and to trust in the clemency and justice of my Sovereign.

"I am, &c., &c."

General Douvelt sent the following reply on the 25th November old style:—

"Sir,

"The Aid-de-camp General, Count Ben-

kendorf, having received your letter of the 12th (24th) of November, has been pleased to declare that the Government has not had to accuse you of any crime; but that you have become culpable *from the moment* that you refused to obey the order of his Majesty respecting your return to Russia. His Excellency, actuated by the kindness of his heart, has hitherto kept back, and still keeps back his humble report on the subject; but it is possible that his Majesty the Emperor may think fit to inquire whether you have returned from abroad, and then it will be necessary to lay before him the particulars of this affair, and, in consequence of your delay in obeying the will of the Monarch, you will be amenable, as for a *serious crime*, to all the rigour of the laws. For this reason, Count Alexander Christophorovitsch, for the last time repeats his former injunction, and has instructed me to request you to return immediately to Russia, not alleging any fur-

ther pretext; and if you do not comply, his Excellency will be constrained to lay the whole before his Majesty.

"While fulfilling the orders of Count Alexander Christophorovitsch, I have the honour to assure you of my sincere respect and regard."

At the same time the Count caused a letter to be written to me, through a private channel, saying that the Emperor did not like to be trifled with, and was accustomed to be obeyed; that a single word from him would suffice to induce the French Government to oblige me to quit France. I was incensed at this arrogance, and certainly not intimidated by the reports which were adroitly spread by the Russian agents, that M. Guizot had offered to send away Prince Dolgorucky, escorted by gens d'armes; I well knew the meanness to which the Russian diplomacy could resort, and I was soon perfectly at ease on this point. I

therefore left my cause in the hands of Providence, and returned the following answer to the Minister of Police.

"SIR,

"In your order of the 25th of November, you admit my innocence and speak of your kindness of heart. I never doubted the former; but the second does not appear in your letter. Kindness of heart and justice require indemnification to those who have wrongfully suffered persecution, and not the continuation of such persecution.

"Besides, you are pleased to announce to me that, in consequence of my delaying to return to my country, proceedings will be instituted against me with all the rigour of the laws, as for a *serious crime*. It would be difficult to find words more plainly conveying an order to obey, and at the same time deterring from compliance with it.

"Being fully persuaded that my cause is

just, I place my hopes on the impartiality of the Emperor, and beg your Excellency no longer to delay making your report to him on the causes which prevent my speedy return. These I stated to you in my letters of the 5th of August and the 24th of November, and are the shattered state both of my health and of my fortune."

On receiving this letter, Count Benkendorf wrote in the margin, "The young man will end by ruining himself." He then sent for my brother, embraced him, made him sit down, and said, "You know that I am your friend; but there is no family without a reprobate, and your brother is the *reprobate* of your family. Ecce homo!"

On the 8th (20th) of February, the Legation sent to me a letter from General Douvelt, dated on the 8th (20th) of January, and conceived in the following terms:—

"Sir,

"The Adjutant-General, Count Benkendorf, having received your letter of the 3rd of January, (new style,) and finding that you still delay to execute the Emperor's order concerning your immediate return to Russia, has instructed me to inform you that his Excellency will defer the delivery of his report to the Emperor four weeks longer; but if, at the expiration of that time, (care had been taken to let it expire,) you have not arrived at St. Petersburg, your disobedience will be forthwith reported to the Emperor.

"I beg to assure you of my sincere respect, and remain, &c."

On the preceding day, M. Kisselef had communicated to me an order transmitted to him by Count Nesselrode, dated the 26th of January, which directed that he should be informed of my decision respect-

ing my return to St. Petersburg. I was not to be dictated to by Count Nesselrode. I had received my instructions from Count Benkendorf. In fact, I had already sacrificed my post in order that I might not be dependent on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, for being admonished by him to take lessons in writing, I thought that I might be more useful to my country as an author than as a copyist, and accordingly withdrew from the service.

I addressed the following letter to Count Nesselrode, which I sent to M. Kisselef:—

"Sir,

"I thought that I had explained myself decidedly enough with respect to my return to Russia, in my letters to Count Benkendorf, dated the 15th of August, the 24th of November, 1843, and the 3rd of January, 1844; but since your Excellency condescends to interfere in this measure of

the police, it is my duty to inform you, that I quitted the service of my country for the purpose of taking lessons in calligraphy, as you were pleased to recommend. I have no protection, and your Excellency cannot fail to remember that the first Minister for Foreign Affairs bore the same name as myself.

"I trust, however, that you will not exercise the full extent of your power, and cause it to be said, that a Benkendorf and a Nesselrode have placed a Golowyn on the proscription list.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

I shewed this letter to the Russian poet B——, and asked his opinion respecting it. He urged me to send it off, observing, that Count Nesselrode was a superior man, who on calling to mind the injury which he had done me, would hasten to repair it. Soon, however, I had a fresh proof of the two-fold

truth, that good men are not always endowed with worldly wisdom, and that great men frequently harbour petty hatred.

Count Nesselrode, on receiving my letter, lost no time in laying it before the Emperor, who immediately ordered that all my property should be sequestrated, that proceedings should be instituted against me for the crime of disobedience and high treason, and that I should be arrested if I set foot on the Russian territory.

Prince Dolgorucky was recalled from his place of banishment at Viatka, and the Emperor issued a decree prohibiting Russian subjects from going abroad before they had attained the age of twenty-five, and imposed a tax of 800 francs a year on their passports: none but invalids and merchants were exempt from this measure.

At length, one evening, his Majesty did me the honour to read my letter to a small circle at court. "Who would have thought it," he cried, "that the brother of our

Golowyn should be the author of such a letter? And who will venture to say that this man writes well? I leave you to judge for yourselves, gentlemen, is this letter well written?" And immediately, the gentlemen present bowed their heads, saying, "Certainly not, Sire, the letter is very ill written."

Thus condemned by the court, I was very shortly sentenced by the senate, which pronounced against me the penalty of banishment to Siberia, the privation of all my civil rights, and the confiscation of my property.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL NOTICE OF THE REIGN OF NICHOLAS I.

IT is no part of my design to dwell at length on the history of a reign which is distinguished only by acts of cruelty and violence; acts which will, however, be useful, inasmuch as they will serve to fill up the measure of iniquity, and hasten the coming of a better order of things.

Alexander, who died at Tagenrog on the 19th November, 1825, carried with him to the tomb many generous plans; his death excited both regret and apprehension; but the regret was lessened by the administration of Araktshêief, into whose hands he

had suffered the reins of government to fall, when overcome by feelings of disgust; while the apprehensions were increased by a storm which was rising in obscurity, but of which there was a general presentiment. The nation was far from being comfortable respecting the fate which the brothers of Alexander were preparing for Russia. Constantine, at the most, was calculated only to act anew the reign of his capricious father, who was good and bad by fits and starts; it was out of the question to expect from him an equable and intelligent exercise of power; and as for Nicholas, he was scarcely known. Constantine had, besides, renounced the crown, by his marriage with Princess Lowitz, the daughter of a private Polish gentleman named Grusinsky. The act of his renunciation of the crown, and the manifesto of Alexander, nominating Nicholas for his successor, were deposited in the church of the Assumption at Moscow, and entrusted to the care of the three

highest authorities of the empire, — the Synod, the Council, and the Senate. The Grand Duke Constantine, in his letter to the Emperor, dated 14th January, 1822, declared, that "in case he should ever be invested with the high dignity to which he was called by his birth, he did not believe himself possessed of the talent or energy indispensable for the performance of its duties."

Nicholas sported with the crown; he offered it to Constantine, and made the troops take the oath: "thus though he pretended the contrary, he left his beloved country in a state of uncertainty, respecting the person of its legitimate sovereign." Constantine again reiterated his refusal, and Nicholas then required the oath to be taken to himself. This was the signal for an insurrection, and it broke out almost instantly.

The flower of the nobility and of the Russian army, mostly young men distin-

guished by their education and talents, who were ill at ease amidst institutions which bore heavy on them, and impelled by ardent love for their country, had resolved to remedy its evils. Since the year 1817 they had formed several societies, similar to those in other countries, especially that of the German *Tugendbund*. The object of these associations was to diffuse knowledge by the establishment of public schools, particularly on the Lancasterian system; to labour in favour of the emancipation of the vassals by the promulgation of liberal ideas and examples of generous enfranchisement; to remedy the abuses in the administration of justice, by not refusing the functions which might be confided to their members*, by encouraging upright judges, and even affording them pecuniary assistance. It was their desire thus to aid the

* Ryleief and Poutshine, among others, had filled, with great credit to themselves, offices that were far from agreeable.

efforts of Government, which they considered to be insufficient; and so far from thinking that their views were blameable, they frequently wished to ask its assent and countenance, and were withheld only by the fear of not being adequately supported by its philanthropy.

A petition demanding permission to open a subscription for the emancipation of the vassals was, in fact, presented to the Emperor, though without leading to any result. The names of the most respectable men, such as Count Woronzow, Prince Menchiskof, were found among the petitioners. M. Wasiltschikof, now President of the Council, first gave his assent, but subsequently withdrew it; several of those who signed the petition fell into disgrace in consequence of doing so.

The association, which was at first formed under the name of *The Union of Safety*, subsequently assumed that of *Union of the Public Good*, or of the *Green Book*, from

the colour of the binding of its statutes. It was divided into the Society of the North and that of the South. The first had its sittings at St. Petersburg, the latter at Tultschin. In 1823 the latter joined the Society of the United Sclavonians, and Moscow served as their rallying point. Constitutional ideas were then in vogue, and had spread among the enlightened classes, after the campaigns of 1813—15. The organization of society necessarily became the object of the deliberations of these meetings, and was the subject of frequent and warm debates, which, however, rather resembled private conversations than formal deliberations.

The existence of these societies was denounced, in 1820, to the Emperor Alexander, who did not think it necessary to interfere openly. In June, 1824, a subaltern officer, named Sherwood, directed the attention of the Government to what he called a plot; and on the 1st December Captain

Mayboroda, of the regiment of Viatka, addressed a letter to the Emperor Alexander, impeaching the association of which he was himself a member. The sub-lieutenant Rostootzof also wrote a letter to the Grand Duke Nicholas, of which Ryleief obtained a copy. On showing it to his brethren, on the evening of the 13th December, he exclaimed, "You see that we are betrayed: we must act—we must die in one way or other." "The scabbards are broken," cried one of the members, "our sabres can no longer be hid."

On the 14th (26th) December, when the guards had just taken the oaths to Nicholas, the conspirators dispersed themselves among the ranks, telling the soldiers that they had been deceived; that Constantine had not abdicated; that he was marching to St. Petersburg, and would punish the traitors. Prince Stepine Rostowsky wounded General Fredericks and General Shenshine, who attempted to interpose his authority. He

seized the colours, and four companies of the regiments of Moscow marched in open revolt against the palace. Lieutenants Southof and Panof brought up a detachment of grenadiers of the guards. "Do you hear that firing," cried Nicholas Bestuchef to the Imperial marines: "they are assassinating your brethren;" and the whole battalion instantly rushed to arms.

On the other hand, General Alexis Orloff, whose brother was among the conspirators, advanced at the head of his cavalry to the defence of Nicholas. Thirteen hundred men were drawn up under the walls of the Senate-house; Miloradovitch, Governor-General of St. Petersburg, endeavoured to induce them to return to obedience, but he was killed by Kahovsky.

The Metropolitan, attired in full episcopal robes, advanced and raised his voice to stem the tumult, but it was drowned by the noise of the drums. Nicholas ordered a squadron of horse-guards to charge the

rebels, but the guards were repulsed; cannons were then brought up, and a general conveyed cartridges in his carriage. The artillerymen refused to fire, upon which he lighted the match himself, and the insurgents were dispersed. Several balls were fired into the city in different directions, and a great number of the inhabitants were killed or wounded. Next day (the 26th of December) the dead bodies were taken away in a barge, and order was completely restored.

Colonel Pestel, the President of the Southern Society, of which he was the life and soul, was arrested the same day. Sergius Muravief, having received timely warning, escaped till the 29th, but his comrades rescued him as well as his brother; they excited the regiment of Tschernigof to revolt, and marched against Belaïa-Tzerkof. They were, however, attacked on the heights of Ustinovoke by a detachment of the corps of Geismar. The soldiers rushed towards

the cannon, and the grape-shot thinned their ranks. Hippolytus Muravief fell dead upon the spot; Sergius was wounded; the cavalry charged them on all sides, and they laid down their arms.

A minute inquiry was instituted at St. Petersburg, and the Grand Duke Michael was among those who took part in the examinations. Vast numbers of persons were arrested on the slightest suspicion; their papers were diligently examined, and if no overt acts could be found against them, words, which might have been spoken ten years before were laid hold of, though perhaps scarcely remembered either by those who were accused of them, or those who professed to have heard them. Even supposing that calumny had not induced some of the impeached to make false declarations, fear may have led them to charge others, in order to extenuate their own faults; words were wrested from their true acceptation; comments made upon them, and, consider-

ing *the serious nature of the facts*, recourse was had to *extraordinary measures;* persuasion was employed in some instances, and in others intimidation. Several of the unfortunate victims were loaded with chains; some were made to confess inaccurate facts, others to sign pure fictions; and both times and events were confounded.

"Fear," says a Russian proverb, "has large eyes;" and the commission of inquiry converted facts of small importance into a monstrous affair, while it at the same time endeavoured to ruin the conspirators in the public opinion. It attacked their personal dignity, called their courage in question, loaded them with the grossest epithets, and ridiculed their political views as *vulgar philanthropy*, or *the attempt of scoundrels.*

A careful examination of the acts of accusation will show at a glance the contradictions and nonsense with which they abounded, and the total absence of all proof. Defence was out of the question; the con-

spirators were impeached by prejudiced accusers, sentenced by servile judges, and were without the benefit of counsel. For instance, Mr. Jakuschkin had offered to assassinate the Emperor with his own hand.—When?—In 1817! But he yielded to the arguments of Von-Viesen and Sergius Muravief. At a meeting, held at Kiew in 1823, a motion to exterminate the Imperial family could not be adopted according to the act of indictment itself. Sergius Muravief declared that he would not consent to regicide. Bestuchef-Rumin maintained the same opinion in a letter to Juschinski; with respect to the letter which he was accused of having addressed to the Secret Society of Poland, and in which he was said to have demanded the death of Constantine, it was never dispatched. It was said, that it was intended to seize the person of the Czar at Bobruisk; who can prove that the means were wanting and not the will? Jukof exclaimed, that if the lot fell on him

to assassinate the Emperor he would kill himself. Nikita Muravief desired only the propaganda: and declared the plan of exterminating the Imperial family to be barbarous and impracticable.

Matthew Muravief, in a letter of the 3rd of November, 1824, to his brother Sergius, demonstrated the impossibility of any revolutionary convulsion. Yakobovitsch, it was said, wished to revenge himself on Alexander and to kill him; but he denied the accusation, and the commission ascertained that the other members of the Society endeavoured to hinder the execution of this menace, which was nothing more than bravado. With respect to the assassination of Nicholas, the commission itself ascribed to Yakobovitsch the following words: "I will not undertake it; I have an honest heart and cannot become an assassin in cold blood." Bestuchef having, as it was said, expressed, an opinion that they could *penetrate into the palace,* Batinkof exclaimed,

"God forbid!" If we may give credit to the report of the commission, Kahofsky imputed to Ryléiéf the intention to murder Constantine, but Bestuschef and Steinhell denied this charge.

The accusation of regicide being disposed of, we now proceed to that of attempting a Republic.

Ryléiéf stated that a Republic is a folly; that they ought to strive for limited Monarchy, although this was not favourable to the development of great characters. He would not allow the Society the right of establishing a new order of things without the concurrence of the representatives of the nation. Batinkof even said, that the prayers which were put up at mass for the Imperial family, rendered a Republic impossible in Russia.

The projects of a constitution alone remained. But who at that time had not drawn up some sketch according to his own notions? There was not a man capable of

thinking, who had not the draft of a constitution in his pocket, in his desk, or in his head. The Emperor Alexander had three, that of Navosiltzof, that of Speransky and that of Mardvinof. No one thought of using violence to impose this constitution, which was in fact not one; for, according to the very words of the commission, "Projects without connection, without a basis, cannot be called plans." The parties concerned desired to avoid shedding blood, and were persuaded that the Emperor would make a concession, and would cause deputies to be convoked; and it was with this understanding that they had repaired to the place of meeting.

After more than five months' investigation, the Commission of Inquiry completed its labours. The Emperor appointed a supreme tribunal, composed of the Council of the Empire, the Synod and the Senate, to decide on the fate of the accused. To these three public bodies several military

and civil officers of high rank were added. This tribunal decided that, according to law, all the prisoners, one hundred and twenty in number, deserved death; but it appealed to the Imperial clemency, and classed the criminals under eleven heads, making an exception of five of them, whom, it set apart, on account of the enormity of their crime. These were Pestel, Ryléiéf, Sergius Muravief, Bestuchef-Rumin, and Kahofsky, who were condemned to be quartered. Thirty-one individuals of the first category were sentenced to be beheaded; those of the second to incur political death; those of the third to undergo hard labour for life; those of the fourth to serve as private soldiers, retaining the rights of nobility, &c., &c.

The Emperor granted a commutation of these punishments. The five individuals condemned to be quartered were sentenced to be hanged: thus an indignity was put upon them even in the kind of death which

they were to suffer. Those of the first category were condemned to hard labour for life; and the punishment of the remainder was mitigated in proportion.

On the 13th (25th) July, the execution took place on the *glacis* of the citadel. The condemned were compelled to look on for a whole hour while the preparations were going on for their execution; and their less wretched companions were forced to march round the gibbets; their swords were broken over their heads, and their epaulettes and military decorations thrown into the fire. The ropes to which Ryléiéf*, Muravief, and Bestuchf-Rumin were suspended unhappily broke, and these men were led to death a second time. Orders were given to erect gibbets instead of crosses on the graves of the officers killed at Ustinofka.

* The Commission of Inquiry has thought proper to designate Ryléiéf as a sub-lieutenant and *journalist*. He was at the head of an office, and a poet.

On the following day the square in front of the Senate-house, where the revolt had taken place, was purified by a religious and expiatory ceremony. The Emperor sent one of his aid-de-camps to the wife of Ryléiéf to assure her of his protection; he presented 50,000 rubles to Pestel's father, and to his brother he gave the epaulettes of an aid-de-camp in his service, which gave rise to the saying, that he wore the rope with which his brother had been hanged. Rostofzof's fortune was made; and Sherwood, the informer, received 50,000 rubles, a house, and the title of Faithful, which, however, did not save him from being subsequently expelled from his regiment for misconduct.

A manifesto of his Majesty of the 13th (25th) of July, informed the world that he had seen with pleasure "the nearest relations renounce and give up to justice the wretches who were suspected of being accomplices."

The soldiers who had taken part in the insurrection were sent to Georgia, and in the war which broke out soon afterwards, they were employed in the first line against the Persians. The regiments which had remained loyal received rewards: to one of them was given the uniform of Alexander; to others, his initials; and to the Don Cossacks, his sword. Fortunately, we need not go far to look for a criticism on all this proceeding. Facts, analogous to those which we have related, had just taken place in a neighbouring country, tributary to Russia, but enjoying a more enlightened administration. They had results which unanswerably condemned the arbitrary proceedings of despotism, and proved, incontestibly, the superiority of a constitutional government. The inquiry, instituted at St. Petersburg, shewed that there were in Poland secret societies which had even been connected with the Southern Society. The attention of the Government was naturally

turned to them, and an investigation was ordered to be made at Warsaw. It was ascertained, in fact, that ever since 1821 there had existed in Poland the *National Patriotic Society;* and that, in the following year, Mazefsky had organized the *Society of the Templars,* on the model of that of Scotland. Uminski, Jablonowski, Soltyk, Krzynanowski, were members of these societies, the principal object of which was the restoration of Poland. The Commission of Inquiry classed the accused under five categories, and the Senate was charged to decide on their fate. It appointed advocates as counsel for the prisoners; the proceedings were public, and lasted a month; after which the supreme court ordered a new act of accusation, which, with the exception of one dissentient voice, that of General Count Krazynski, unanimously set aside the charge of high treason, acquitted the greater part of the accused, and condemned the others

to some months' imprisonment. The Emperor ordered the judges to be reprimanded, a thing before unheard of; and he consoled himself by confining the accused in the dungeons of St. Petersburg: this was a violation of the constitution, and was one of the grievances subsequently alleged in defence of the Polish revolution.

But to return to Russia:—

On the 3rd of September (22nd October),* 1826, the coronation of the Emperor took place at Moscow, in the midst of such pomp and ceremonies, that a handsome woman exclaimed, "How vexatious it is that such fêtes are so rare!" The people were invited to a monster feast at Devitsche Polé, but when the crowd fell on the viands which had been prepared for them, they were driven away by the fire engines. A manifesto reduced, by five years, the term

* One of these dates must be wrong; perhaps they should be 20th September and 2nd October.

of imprisonment to which the political prisoners were condemned.

On the 16th (28th) of September, an imperial manifesto declared war against Persia. The Treaty of Gulistan of the 26th of October, 1813, had left an opening for inevitable disputes by stipulating, that either of the two contracting parties should have the power of enlarging its territorial possessions according to circumstances, on condition of indemnifying the party injured. By virtue of this stipulation, Russia had occupied the coast of Lake Goktcha, offering to Persia, by way of indemnity, the territory comprehended between the rivers Capunaktchay and Tschudow; but the Shah declined accepting this arrangement.

Prince Menchikof, who was dispatched by the Emperor to settle the difference, was refused an audience. The Khan of Talychyn massacred the Russian garrison of Erivan, and Abbas Mirza, heir to the Persian throne, invaded the province of

Elizabethpol, at the head of 50,000 regular troops. The Musselman tribes of the Caucasus rose at his approach. On the 2nd (14th) of September Madatof defeated the vanguard of the Persian army, on the Schamkhor, and occupied the town of Elizabethpol. On the 21st Paskewitsch joined with his division of 9000 men, and defeated Abbas Mirza, on the banks of the river Djeliam, two leagues from Elizabethpol, from which place this battle took its name. The Persians repassed the Araxes, and Grabbe obtained some advantages on the coast of the Caspian. Paskewitsch was appointed Commander-in-chief in the room of Yermoloff, and Benkendorf succeeded Madatof in the command of the vanguard. Etchmiadzin surrendered without resistance, in April, 1827. Paskewitsch crossed the Araxes, and defeated the enemy's army in the battle of Djwan-Bulak; the *victorious standard* of the vanquished, fell into the hands of the Russians, and Abbas Abad

surrendered to them on the 19th (31st) of July.

These successes did not, however, hinder the Persians from besieging Etchmiadzin. Krassowsky in vain endeavoured to make them raise the siege, and Paskewitsch was obliged to repair to his aid. The Persian Prince again crossed the Araxes, and Sardar Abbas surrendered to the Russians, and Erivan was occupied on the 13th of October, after six days' siege. On the 25th, Tauris, the capital of Adzerbadaidjan, and soon after, Ali-jar-Kan, shared the same fate. The Persians sued for peace, and conferences were opened on the 2nd of November. Russia demanded the cession of the provinces of Erivan and Nakitchevan, and an indemnification of twenty millions of silver rubles. Abbas Mirza accepted these conditions; but the Shah's ratification was delayed for three months, which obliged Paskewitsch to resume hostilities. On the 15th (27th) of January, 1828, he

occupied Urmiah; Souktel entered Ardebyl, and on the 10th (22nd) of February the treaty was signed at Turkmantchai. Paskewitsch received, as a reward for his conduct in this campaign, a million in money, and the title of Count of Erivan. Russia acquired two provinces by this war, which cost her more labour than men.

The war with Persia was scarcely ended when that with Turkey broke out. On the 14th (26th) of August, 1828, a manifesto of the Emperor was published, followed by an explanatory declaration, to which the Porte replied on the 4th of June. The two parties accused each other of not having observed the treaty of Bucharest. Turkey reproached Russia with having countenanced the insurrection of the Greeks, with having supported and received Ypsilanti, and fomented troubles in Moldavia and Wallachia. Russia, on her part, accused the Divan of having stimulated the Circassans to revolt, of having fettered the

commerce of the Black Sea, violated the amnesty which had been granted to Servia, supported the resistance of Persia, and retarded the peace which had just been concluded with that power.

Immediately after the declaration, Field Marshal Prince Wittgenstein placed himself at the head of an army of 105,000 men, and on the 7th of May crossed the Pruth at three points; Jassy and Bucharest were immediately occupied, and the administration of the two principalities was given to Count Pahlen. The third corps passed the Danube on the 8th of June, and besieged Kustendji. The Zaporogue Cossacks, who had been subject to Turkey for two centuries, returned to the dominion of Russia, and their example was followed by those of Neckrazow. The Grand Duke Michael besieged Brailow, at the head of the seventh corps, and the Emperor repaired thither in person on the 20th of May. On the 15th of June an attempt was made

to take the place by storm, but it failed; one mine blew up too soon, another did not explode at all, and no practicable breach was effected. The troops rushed to the ramparts and sustained great loss, and the Grand Duke was compelled to give the signal for retreat. In the course of the next day the mine which had not previously exploded, made a considerable breach. The Turkish Pasha surrendered the place on the 18th of June, and withdrew with the honours of war. The Emperor conferred on the Grand Duke Michael the order of St. George of the second class.

Menschikof took Anapa on the 11th, Kustendji submitted on the 20th, and Bazardschik was occupied without resistance on the 6th of July. An engagement was fought under its walls, which was disadvantageous to the Turks. A severe contest took place on the 20th of July, in the direction of Schumla; the Turks retired to their camp, and the Russians erected some

redoubts. Count Soukheln advanced against Varna, and was repulsed. Uschakow came to his aid, but could not prevent a Turkish reinforcement from entering the town. General Roth invested the fortress of Silistria, and Geismar was ordered to protect Wallachia. A very smart action took place before Schumla, on the 28th of July, but which did not lead to any important results. Menschikof had taken the command of the siege of Varna, and Admiral Greig blockaded the town by sea.

In Asia, General Paskewitsch opened the campaign on the 7th of July, and on the 15th he took Kars. The fortress of Poti, the only one possessed by the Turks on the east coast of the Black Sea, surrendered on the 26th to a detachment of the troops of Georgia. On the 4th of September, Paskewitsch gained a complete victory under the walls of Akhalzik, which surrendered on the 8th, after a vigorous resistance, in

which the Russians suffered considerable loss.

While the Emperor went to Odessa, to hasten the arrival of reinforcements, and to order a new levy of recruits, the Sultan was actively preparing measures of resistance; he caused the Bosphorus to be fortified, the ships of war to be repaired, and troops to be armed and exercised at Constantinople. The Seraskier, Hussein Pasha, was shut up in Schumla with an army of 60,000 men. Joussuf and the Captain Pasha were gone to defend Varna. The Grand Vizier had repaired in person to the camp. The plague, which had broken out at the opening of the campaign, extended its ravages more and more in the ranks of the Russians; provisions and forage were becoming scarce; the cavalry was visibly losing its horses; and the population flying at the approach of the enemy, left the country a desert. The presence of the Emperor, far from being a stimulus and an advantage, was

only a restraint, because it checked the authority of the general-in-chief; but unhappily this was not understood until it was too late.

The Pasha of Widdin proceeded to offensive measures, and forced General Geismar to retrograde and to abandon his camp; but an energetic movement gave him the victory, and compelled the Turks to fly beyond the Danube, leaving in the hands of the Russians 24 standards and 600 carriages loaded with ammunition. This was on the 26th of September. On the 5th and 6th, General Roth gained some advantages before Schumla; but the Russians had sustained a shock on the night of the 25th of August.

The Turks attacked them at three points. On the first, they carried a redoubt commanded by General Wrede, who was killed, with all his men; at the second point, they obliged General Rüdiger to destroy his intrenchments at Eski-Stamboul; and at the third, they captured a piece of cannon.

On the following day they occupied Eski-Stamboul, which restored the communication of the Turks with Adrianople. These successes permitted a Turkish detachment to go to the aid of Varna.

On the 7th of August, Admiral Greig seized 14 Turkish vessels, and then caused the magazines and the arsenal of Neada to be destroyed. Captain Kritzki took 12 pieces of cannon, spiked the others, and blew up the arsenal.

On the 21st of August, Prince Menschikof was wounded before Varna, and was succeeded by Count Woronzow in the command of the siege. The imperial guards arrived to reinforce the army, and on the 12th of September, General Golowyn occupied the heights of Gulata; but having sent the regiment of chasseurs of the guard to reconnoitre a Turkish corps which was advancing on the road from Aidos, that regiment was cut to pieces, and General Hartung was killed in this action. On the

28th of September, General Freytag lost his life in a desperate combat, in which both parties claimed the victory. On the 30th, a Russian brigade, having ventured too far, was roughly handled, and General Jarnow was killed.

The works of the besiegers being far advanced, the brave Lieutenant Zaitzewsky, at the head of some marines, reinforced by the volunteers of the guard, entered Varna by the breach, on the 7th of October. He took possession of a bastion, and penetrated into the town, but not being supported, he was obliged to retreat, after having spiked seven Turkish guns. The next day, Joussuf Pasha sent a secretary to open a conference, and on the 9th he came himself on board a Russian vessel; on the 10th he surrendered, and soon afterwards went to the Crimea to receive the guerdon of his treason. His people followed his example, and laid down their arms; the Captain Pacha obtained permission to rejoin the

Turkish army. On the 12th he left Varna at the head of three hundred men; and the Russians entered the town immediately afterwards. The Emperor sent twelve Turkish guns to Warsaw, in memory of the death of Wladislaus VI., who was killed in 1444 under the walls of Varna, which were reputed to be impregnable; but these guns did not reach their destination; they were cast on shore during a storm, and fell again into the hands of the Turks. The property which Joussuf possessed in Turkey, as well as his harem and his family, were sequestered. The Captain Pasha took the place of the Vizier, who was exiled to Gallipolis. At the same time the siege of Schumla was raised, Silistria abandoned; the Russian army retired to Jassy, in a complete state of disorganization, and the Emperor returned to St. Petersburg.

On the 25th of January, General Langeron took Kalé after two days' fighting; Turnow surrendered on the 11th of February,

and thirty Turkish ships were destroyed before Nicopolis.

On the 18th of February, Diebitsch was appointed commander-in-chief in the room of Prince Wittgenstein, who took leave of the army on the 27th. Count Toll was placed at the head of the staff; President Pahlen was recalled to St. Petersburg; and Langeron took his leave. The Russian army was augmented to the number of two hundred and forty thousand men; and twelve ships of the line were stationed in the Black Sea.

On the 27th of February, Rear-Admiral Kumani took the town of Sizeboli, twenty-five leagues from Constantinople. The Turks afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt to take possession of the redoubt, which the Russians had thrown up in haste.

On the 7th of August the Russians were attacked near Silistria by a part of the garrison, which was repulsed, and the city besieged. On the same day, General Roth

had an engagement, near Pravady, with the new grand vizir, Reschid Pasha, and being reinforced by General Wachter, he obliged the enemy to retreat: but the latter being succoured on their return, rallied to the charge, and did not desist till the evening, after both parties had sustained considerable loss. Major-General Rinden was killed in this affair. The Russian commander-in-chief marched on the 1st of June to succour Roth, and surrounded the Grand Vizir. On the 11th of June the battle of Kulewtscha took place, which lasted four hours, during which the Russians, notwithstanding the superiority of their number, suffered severely; the Grand Vizir forced his passage through the Russian army, and occupied a strong position, which he was obliged to abandon the next day, with a loss which was estimated by the Russians at five thousand killed and one thousand five hundred prisoners. The official bulletin compared this battle to those of Kagul

and Rymnik, leaving it to history to place Diebitsch by the side of Romanzoff and Suwarrow. The General-in-Chief then caused proposals for peace to be made, which however came to nothing.

The news of this victory affected Silistria, the entire fortifications of which had been at length demolished. Some shells, which were thrown into the town, caused great terror; a mine, which opened a breach in the heart of the fortress, completely discouraged the besieged. The two Pashas capitulated, and, together with their garrison, surrendered as prisoners of war. The Russians entered the place on the 1st of July.

In Asia, the opening of the campaign was retarded by a crime committed against the Ambassador at Teheran. On the 12th of February, the Russian legation attempted to detain an Armenian woman, who was a Russian subject; this circumstance excited the indignation of the populace, who pro-

ceeded in arms to the hotel of the legation. Some of their party having been killed by the Cossacks, the crowd massacred all the persons attached to the legation, with the exception of the Secretary, who was absent at the time. The Shah, to prevent any disagreeable discussion, punished the guilty, and sent his grandson to St. Petersburg to express to the Emperor his regret at the occurrence. Being released from all apprehension on that side, Paskewitsch resumed hostilities in Asia where Akhalzik was besieged by the Turks. On the 13th of May, General Bourzof defeated Achmet Khan. On the 1st of July, Paskewitsch, anticipating the junction of the Seraskier of Erzerum with Hagki Pasha, in the valley of Zevine, marched against the former, whom he put to flight, and on the next day defeated the latter whom he took prisoner; thirty-one pieces of cannon, nineteen standards, and fifteen hundred prisoners were the trophies of this two-fold victory. On the 5th of

July he took Hassan-Khale, the key of Erzerum, the capital of Turcomania which surrendered on the 9th.

After the taking of Silistria, General Diebitsch resolved to cross the Balkan; while the Grand Vizir expected him under the walls of Schumla. The three corps formed into two columns, passed the river Kamtshik, and easily carried, or turned the little posts which the Turks had opposed to them. The Vizir attacked Rüdiger, near Aidos, on the 21st of July, but was repulsed, and the Russians in consequence of these advantages took possession of Aidos and Karnabach. Halœ Pasha was not more successful than the Vizir in his attack at Jamboli and Selimno, which the Russians took by storm on the 11th of August.

On the 19th the Russian army was in sight of Adrianople, which opened its gates the next day; thence it marched on to Eynos. Meantime, its rear under Generals

Sturmur, Geismar, and Krussowski continued to be severely harassed.

The Prussian general, Baron Müffling urged the Divan to conclude peace, conformably to the instructions which he had received from his Government, after a visit which the Emperor Nicholas had paid to Berlin. On the 28th of August, two Russian negotiators, Count Alexis Orloff and Count Pahlen arrived at Burgos, and the Turkish envoys, Mehemet-Sadi Effendi and Abul-Kadir-Bey repaired to the Russian head-quarters for this same purpose; other negotiations commenced on the 30th, and the treaty of peace was signed on the 14th of September. Russia retained the conquered territory bordering on Imeritia and Georgia, Anapa, Poti, Akhalzik, &c., &c., and the Dardanelles were thrown open to the commerce of all nations. The Porte engaged to pay eleven millions and a half of Dutch ducats in the course of eighteen months, and give its assent to the treaty of the 6th

of July, 1827, concerning Greece. Lastly, it bound itself to restore to the Principalities, the establishments on the left bank of the Danube. The hospodars were to be appointed for life, and the taxes hitherto paid in kind, were henceforward to be paid in money.

On the 24th of May the Emperor was crowned at Warsaw. He pronounced on his knees a prayer, in which we observe the following words, "O my Lord, and my God, may my heart be always in Thy hand, and may I reign for the happiness of my people, and to the glory of Thy holy name, according to the charter granted by my august predecessor, and already sworn to by me, in order that I may not dread to appear before Thee on the day of the last judgment."

From Warsaw the Emperor and Empress proceeded to Berlin.

Khosrow-Mirza, the son of Abbas-Mirza, came to St. Petersburg to implore pardon

for the crime of the 12th of February, 1829.

In February, 1830, two Turkish ambassadors arrived, who obtained a deduction of three millions from the contribution imposed on their country.

On the 28th of May the Emperor opened the Polish Diet, with a speech in the French language, and in a very lofty tone. Some complaints were heard in this assembly, to which the Czar paid little attention. These complaints related to the suppression of publicity for the discussions of the Diet, to the restrictions on the press, the vexatious conduct of the police, and the cruelties of Constantine.

The news of the revolution of the 30th of July was the spark that kindled the elements of discontent which existed in Warsaw. On the 29th of November the standard-bearers forced the entrance of the Belvidere palace; Gendre and Lubowicki were killed; Constantine escaped by a

secret door, and took refuge in the ranks of his guard. The Polish hussars flew to arms, and seized on the arsenal. Constantine had 10,000 men, and might have crushed the revolt in the bud; but his courage failed him, and he preferred evacuating Warsaw. A provisional administration was instituted in that city, of which Prince Adam Czartoryski was president, and Clopicki received the command of the troops. The new authority sent proposals to the Grand Duke's camp, to which he was not authorized to accede. He retired into Wolhynia. Clopicki was nominated dictator, and the Diet was convoked for the 18th of December. It continued Clopicki in his post, and formed a national council, to take the place of the provisional government.

On the 24th of December, Nicholas published a manifesto againt "the *infamous treasons,* which employed *lies,* threats, and delusive promises, in order to subject the peaceable inhabitants to a few rebels."

"The Poles," says the manifesto, "who after so many misfortunes enjoyed peace and prosperity under the shadow of our power, precipitate themselves anew into the abyss of revolution and calamity, are *an assemblage of credulous beings*, who, though already seized with terror at the thought of the chastisement which awaits them, dare to dream for a few moments of victory, and to propose conditions to Us, their lawful Sovereign!"

On the 10th of January, 1831, the Poles published a manifesto, stating their grievances. It contains the following paragraphs. "The union of the crown of an Autocrat and of a constitutional King is one of those political anomalies which cannot long exist. Everybody foresaw that the kingdom would become the germ of liberal institutions for Russia, or succumb under the iron hand of its despotism; the question was soon decided. Public instruction was corrupted; a system of obscurant-

ism was organized; the people were shut out from all means of obtaining instruction; an entire Palatinate was deprived of its representation in the Council; the Chambers lost the faculty of voting the budget; new burthens were imposed; monopolies were created, calculated to dry up the sources of the national wealth; and the Treasury, augmented by these measures, became the prey of paid hirelings, infamous incendiary agents, and despicable spies."

"Calumny and espionage had penetrated even into the privacy of families; had infected with their poison the liberty of domestic life, and the ancient hospitality of the Poles had become a snare for innocence. Personal liberty, which had been solemnly guaranteed, was violated; the prisons were crowded; courts-martial were appointed to decide in civil cases, and imposed infamous punishments on citizens,

whose only crime was that of having attempted to save from corruption the spirit and the character of the nation."

All the proposals of Poland having been rejected with contempt by the Emperor of Russia, war became inevitable. Clopicki, doubtful of success, resigned the office of Dictator, and entered the Polish army as a private volunteer. He was succeeded in his post by Radzivill, and afterwards by Skzynecki.

On the 25th of January, 1831, the Polish Diet, on the motion of Prince Roman Soltyk, declared that the Emperor Nicholas had forfeited the throne; and in consequence of this bold step, the Russian army invaded Poland in the month of February.

The particulars of this heroic conflict are well known; such as the drawn battle of Grochow of the 19th and 20th; the sanguinary combat of Praga of the 25th of the same month; that of Ostrolenka of the

26th of May, in which the Poles so obstinately disputed a victory, which the Russians did not turn to account. The laurels which General Geismar had gained in the war with Turkey, were blighted in this campaign; for on the 14th of January, Dwernicki took from him eleven pieces of cannon; on the 19th he was beaten at Waver, and together with Rosen, was defeated at Dembewilkie. Nevertheless, all the attempts of the Poles to raise an insurrection in Lithuania and Wolhynia were ineffectual, and only caused the loss of the troops which had been sent to those provinces. On the 17th of April Kreutz defeated Sierawski; Rüdiger discomfited Dwernicki, and obliged him to retreat into Austria, where his corps was disarmed; Chrzanowski and Jankowski, who seconded him in Wolhynia, shared the same fate. Clapowski and Gielgud, having been beaten at Wilna by General Sacken, took refuge

in Prussia, where they also were disarmed. Dembinski alone was able to preserve his troops, and take them back to Warsaw.

Diebitsch died on the 10th of June, and the Grand Duke Constantine sixteen days after. Paskewitsch took the command of the troops, passed the Vistula on the 29th of July, and on the 6th of September made the memorable attack on Warsaw, which he entered on the 8th. The vengeance of Nicholas was fearful. The vanquished were treated as criminals; patriotism and independence, virtues which we should rejoice to see possessed by the Russians, were imputed as crimes to the Poles. Siberia, the Caucasus, and the army, were filled with these unhappy beings; Poland was incorporated with Russia, and, contrary to all treaties, became a province of that empire. Every species of punishment was inflicted; and neither property nor the ties of family were respected.

Europe, to which Poland had in vain

stretched out her arms, saw these enormities without protesting, and suffered all these cruelties to be exercised with impunity; but Heaven visited Russia with its chastisements. Revolt, stifled on one side, rose in the very heart of Russia herself. Two hundred officers perished at Novgorod and at Staraia Roussa. The ravages of the cholera were succeeded by famine in 1833 and 1840. The public distress was extreme. The winter palace at St. Petersburg was destroyed by fire in 1838; death deprived the Emperor of a beloved daughter. History in short, the supreme judge of kings, has not waited till Nicholas has ceased to live or to reign, to accuse him of tyranny.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL VIEW.

THOSE who speak against Russia are greatly mistaken. Men there enjoy a large share of freedom, and life upon the whole is not without its attractions. What is there that men are not free to do? Take tea in the evening or in the morning in a cup or in a glass, with or without cream; take one, two, three, or forty cups if you have a mind; put sugar into your tea or hold it in your hand, (*v prikouskow,*) or hang a piece to the ceiling, and let each of the company taste it by turns; do, in this respect, just as you please. Mix water with your wine or

not, nobody will interfere with you. Drink French or Spanish wines as you choose, or even Portuguese, if you please. White wine or red, you have your choice. You need be under no apprehension of spending all your fortune: for the paternal Government of Russia has guardians for spendthrifts. Ride in a droshki or in a chariot, with one or two horses; nay, even with four if you are a noble: you have a right to do so, unless it be true, as is pretended, that the Emperor Nicholas, offended at the luxury displayed by some young people without titles, has limited the prerogative of driving with four horses to the dignitaries of the first four classes: let your horses be of the same or of different colours,—the choice is yours. Drive slowly or at full gallop, provided you do not run over anybody, and if such a misfortune should happen, you will escape with the loss of your horses, and some *coups de bâton* to

your coachman*. But you must take care not to pass the Emperor; courtesy prescribes this as a law, and propriety, in this instance, is in accordance with the regulations.

Do you prefer a brunette or a fair lady? pay your court to her who takes your fancy. Keep one woman or two clandestinely, but do not commit adultery; punishment awaits you, even though there should be no complaint on the part of the husband: this is justice. Do not seduce a maiden, you will be compelled to marry her. Beware

* Baron Dellinshausen, Adjutant-General to the Emperor, one day broke the file of carriages in a public promenade. The Police laid the blame on his coachman, and the Baron wrote a virulent letter to the Governor-General of St. Petersburg. On Easter day, when he went in his turn to compliment the Czar, the latter put him aside, saying, that he did not embrace the disturbers of public order. The General tendered his resignation, and the Emperor sent him the ribbon of the White Eagle, which restored him to the service. This is the way in which family quarrels are generally made up.

also of meddling with the pupils of the theatre, unless you have a mind to pass some months in prison, as happened to Prince V.: the Emperor is very strict on this point. Do not elope either with a single or a married lady, if you do not choose to lose your rank, like Count F., who, for having married without the consent of his wife's parents, lost his rank in the guards, and was transferred to the army. That he has since become Equerry to his Majesty is owing to the circumstance of his having led the ass which carried the Empress across the mountains of Saxon Switzerland, a chance which not every one is likely to meet with. Notwithstanding all this, you may still act the part of a Russian *Faublas*. Without drawing down upon yourself any inconvenience, you may marry ten times in your life, provided you ask for your bride only such as have not attained the legal age for marriage. A divorce will be granted you as often as you have become

a husband, and your children cannot even bear your name. The innocent always suffer for the guilty.

Do you love the theatre? You have every variety: the French, the German, the Russian, and the Italian, the opera and ballets at St. Petersburg, Moscow, and even at Odessa. If you prefer the French theatre, you must take care to put on a proper dress, because the Emperor often frequents it. Do not remain seated when he stands, nor applaud when he does not: it would be at variance with decorum.

Employ whatever tailor you prefer; dress as you please, provided that there is nothing in your dress which may offend the Emperor. Beware of wearing a beard; you would be politely invited to shave, for the sight of a beard affects the Emperor's nerves. Do not wear your hair too long: the Emperor is bald!

"Marry, you will do well!" as the Grand Duke Michael says. Do not marry, and

you will do better. If you espouse the daughter of some great functionary, you must first have the consent of his Majesty the Emperor. This is logic.

Retire to rest at what hour you like: pass the night in gambling if you please, only do not play at forbidden games, nor stake too high: your own servant might denounce you to the police. Consult whatever physician enjoys your confidence, if you are so happy as to find a good one. Read the books which you prefer, even such as are prohibited: they are easily procured. Write and publish, but strictly observe the existing laws on the subject, and conform to the ideas of the Government. The censorship would not exempt you from responsibility for articles which it may have suffered to pass unnoticed. When you walk abroad, bow to the Emperor if you meet him, because he is extremely tenacious on this point; bow also to the Grand Duke Michael, even though

he should never return the compliment. Do not assume the character of a brawler or a bully; the capital is the property of the Emperor, who insists on the observance of good manners and the public peace. Do not smoke in the streets, for fear of setting something on fire. You must be in the public service, or at least have been so; this is an established rule, and you are looked upon with an evil eye if you are not. You have a variety to choose out of, from the jacket of the hussar to the cuirass of the horse-guard, and the dress of a civil functionary! Choose that branch of the service in which you have some relations or some connexions that may aid your promotion.

Travel, if that kind of life suits your taste. Every well-educated man ought to visit other countries. Go even to France; the Emperor does not like it, but he winks at it; but when there, conduct yourself with prudence: do not meddle with writing,

—do not connect yourself with any association; do not have any intercourse with ultra-liberals. If you are recalled to Russia, return immediately; your obedience will mitigate the rigour of the banishment which awaits you, and will shorten its duration.

What a happy lot is that of the Russian nobles! they live like kings or demi-gods! A noble retired to his estate with a handsome wife, at the head of some thousands of peasants, with large revenues, passes days of delight, and enjoys an existence which has not its parallel in the whole world! You are absolute sovereign on your own estates: all cringe and bow before you; all crawl in the dust, and tremble at the sound of your voice. If you order a hundred or two *coups de bâton* to be inflicted on Peter or John, your order will be executed, and his back will immediately become as black as a coal. You have merely to throw your handkerchief to any

woman who pleases you: you are not a sultan for nothing. After all, let us not mind those philanthropists who come to us from Europe: we have seen some, and the most distinguished of them, who openly reproached us with our rudeness, our cruelty, and who, having married noble Russian ladies, and become the lords of their estates and of their vassals, then say that there is nothing to be compared to the life of a Boyard. Go, speechifiers, we know your value, and we know ours; preach morality to others: we have our own.

This is a complete picture of Russia. Men vegetate here; they seek excuses for everything, and say that the end makes amends for all. The noble imagines himself free, and thinks that he has only to blame himself if he exchanges his liberty for offices, for distinctions, and becomes a servant instead of a sovereign master. He has his court, his residence, his estate—let

him remain there. The serf thinks that his condition is natural, fixed by the decrees of Providence, and that he would be infinitely more wretched if he were free. The military man thinks of nothing: he has no time left to do so, and he is kept in perpetual exercise to fill up his leisure. The civil officer thinks only of adorning his button-hole, or filling his pocket, and all move by the force of the iron will of the Sovereign.

But in what direction are they moving? Towards a revolution? This will long be impracticable, for the materials which constitute a revolutionist are not to be met with in Russia. The few liberal-minded men who are found there look at their bayonet, but let all go on in the old way; and it will be long before the army revolts. No revolution is possible in Russia, except in the palace, and only with the consent or by the command of the heirs to the Crown themselves. Thus Iwan V. and Peter III. dis-

appeared at the sole order of Catherine II.; thus Alexander, having to choose between his own exile and the forced abdication of his father, decided for the latter; but those appointed to execute the plan went beyond his intentions. To judge by all appearances, one generation, if not two, must pass before there can be a revolution in Russia. But the decrees of the Most High are inscrutable!

With respect to probabilities, however, calculations are often erroneous. How frequently does a tempest break out when it is least expected! The earthquake, the inundation give no previous indications of their coming, and men often perish when they think themselves the safest; revolutions have always taken kings by surprise. The great mass of the people is excessively inflammable; a spark coming perhaps even from the Government itself, will speedily kindle a conflagration. The Government is already uneasy; it is disquieted about

everything, and makes everybody unquiet, and thereby does itself infinite harm. A mustachio on the lip of a citizen, a beard on the chin of a civil functionary, a merchant without a beard, suffice to inspire it with apprehension. It sees in them indications, harbingers of civilization, of liberalism, of the storm which is brooding. It pursues them without mercy, and its poor subjects enclosed, hemmed in on every side, begin to think of liberalism, of which previously they had not the least notion.

Meantime all is quiet, men do not complain openly, except where they are not afraid of being overheard,—at home, or in some desert spot; they lower their voice in the towns; they do not breathe a syllable in the capitals; they groan and writhe under the Imperial rod; they beat or are beaten; are either hammer or anvil; nay, they are both at the same time. Happy those who can choose! The Emperor abuses his courtiers, and they revenge

themselves on their subordinates, who not finding words sufficiently energetic, raise their hand against those, who in their turn, finding the hand too light, arm themselves with a stick, which further on is replaced by the whip. The peasant is beaten by everybody; by his master, when he condescends so far to demean himself; by the steward and the *starosta*, by the public authorities, the *stanovoï* or the *ispravnik*, by the first passer by, if he be not a peasant. The poor fellow on his part has no means to indemnify himself, except on his wife or his horse; and accordingly, most women in Russia are beaten, and it excites one's pity to see how the horses are used. At St. Petersburg there is a continual smacking of whips, and all the blows fall on those poor animals. Peter I., in his ardour for reform, ought to have substituted for the Russian whip, a long lash, in using which the coachmen would lose their love of whipping, because they only beat the air.

Will you attend the levée of a Russian petit-maître, not exactly one of the old school, but of a gentleman belonging to the class of frizzed and perfumed fashionables, who talk to you of philanthropy in three or four languages, all very prettily mangled; who dance more or less agreeably, and even sing the Marseillaise? Let us begin with the *petit lever*. He commences with questioning his valet about the weather, the day of the week and month; and his valet must answer off hand. The latter then prepares to dress his master, putting on his socks and drawers while he is still in bed; then his pantaloons, which he fastens very carefully, his robe de chambre, and his slippers. After an innumerable quantity of pipes, filled, lighted, and washed down by an infinite number of cups of tea, the *grand lever* commences. Here the poor valet de chambre is certain of committing some blunders, for which he receives as many, or a hundred times as

many, cuffs and kicks, applied indifferently to every part of his body. If he makes no mistake in any part of his waiting, his own toilette is sure to be attacked, and with this his master now begins to cheer his heart and to divert his mind, as well as to have an opportunity of being set a-going. "You are always as dirty as a pig; your coat is out at elbows and threadbare; your linen is slovenly;" and lo! a shower of blows fall heavily upon the unfortunate valet. No inquiry is made whether the poor wretch has the means of attiring himself more seemly, and it is well known that handsome clothes are forbidden him. If, through some unexpected good fortune, no fault can be found with his costume, exception is taken at his face; either it is dirty, or it is melancholy, and, in either case, he is beaten, pinched, and knocked on the face and head, and handfuls of hair are torn out by the roots, by his indignant master. "Why do you look so sulky—lift up your

head—look your master in the face? Are you afraid of him? I do not like that gloomy air; any one who saw you would suppose that I tyrannized over you; that you are unhappy with me. Are you so? Let us see!" And the crouching valet is obliged to answer, "No, my Lord, I am very well satisfied with your service!"

If a lady wishes to chastise a man, she calls for another, and orders him to box the culprit's ears in her presence.

The master of the police beats the commissary of the quarter; he again the police officer, who, in his turn, takes revenge on the soldier of the city, who vents his ill-humour on the first individual with whom it is possible for him to find the most trifling fault.

"Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret."

The Russian imbibes the mania of beating with his mother's milk, and this mania does not leave him on this side the tomb. "The first blow with a fist which I received

in a foreign country for a stroke of the whip, was my first lesson on liberty," said Prince K* * * *; and if I were permitted to speak of myself, I would say, that I do not pass a day out of my country, without better understanding the rights of liberty and of humanity, without more duly appreciating the worth and the dignity of man; and if I remain abroad, it is precisely because I perceive that I grow better by doing so. What shall we say?

There are things which seem to pervade the air itself: the tastes, the habits of a country are acquired involuntarily. The Marquis Custine, after a residence of three months in Russia, grew so cruel, as to suffer a foal to run for a whole stage by its mother's side. Europeans have become cannibals by living among savages. Let the Russians be allowed to become free with free men; and if I now write, it is that there may be no remains of all the atrocities which are continually committed

in Russia in the face of day. There is a national proverb, which says, "Do not throw the dust out of doors," and hence the house becomes and remains dirty. We should reverse the phrase, and say, "Sweep your room as often as possible." "Wash your dirty linen at home," it is said; but, if the family neglects this duty, ought not strangers to be called in to help; publicity and exposure to the light of day will do far more than Imperial decrees. It is through their feelings that even the ignorant must be gained. Men are much more easily corrected of their faults when they have been obliged to blush for them, than when they have only had to suffer for them. Publicity is the salvation of the world, and would be that of Russia, if it were suffered to penetrate there. Open the doors of the tribunals, and justice will take her seat there. Publish the acts of the Government, and it will become better; let it be well understood that supreme justice, which

nothing escapes, exists not only in the other world, but also in this. There is a tribunal, at the bar of which we must appear, even during our life,—it is the tribunal of public opinion: let the wicked tremble, and let the good rejoice!

Such are not the thoughts of the Russians of the old school. Foreign countries have nothing to teach them, and the residence which they make there cures them of their notions of liberty which they may have taken with them. In France, they say, they can get none to serve them, for all act as masters, and treat them like equals; there is no obedience, and consequently there can be no order. "We will have none of this regime. The Government is weak, despised abroad, little respected at home, whereas all tremble at the name and sight of our Czar. Immorality is at its height in France, everything is venal, peculation is universal."

"There is almost as much despotism here

as among us; despotism runs in the veins of the French, and wherever the law leaves him some arbitrary power, the agent of the Public Adminstration indemnifies himself for all the checks on his will, which he otherwise meets with. Interest alone guides France. See how the shopkeeper humbly bows to a customer in a carriage, he who behaves so proudly when he goes to visit some unfortunate wretch who lives in a garret. It is interest again which sits in the Parliament; we there hear only the declarations of those who desire to rise, or of those who have lost all hopes of doing so. Public opinion is in the hands of a few private individuals, who deal with the press as with a piece of merchandize, and sell themselves to the highest bidder. If the Emperor pleased, he might have the whole of the press on his side, and the Parisian journals would combat each other to obtain his rubles. They live only on gratuities from the Government; and serve

their subscribers at the expense of the Government which pays them."

Is it worth while to refute attacks of this nature? Foreigners are wrong thus to calumniate France; they ought to recollect that if they eat, drink, and clothe themselves, it is thanks to that country, which has taught and still teaches them the true enjoyment of these trifles, which constitute the sum of life. French cookery is without dispute the best in the world, and that which foreigners prefer; French wines are superior to all other; fashions, furniture, &c., are everywhere brought from Paris; and when other nations shall desire to be free, it is from France again that they will have to learn the lesson.

"Never write against Russia. Whoever uses his pen against his country is a murderer." Thus one of the most distinguished men of that country, once caused me to be told. This he said at a moment when the Government had ordered the sequestration

of my property, and endeavoured to deprive me of every means of subsistence. Patriotism, even in the opinion of this eminent man, was superior to the love of truth, and the fear of making known in foreign countries the faults of his own, surpassed, in him, the desire of seeing them remedied. Must we wait till truth finds her way to Russia? Our generation will not see the liberty of the press established there. Foreigners have too many means of knowing our defects, either by visiting our country, or by learning our language, and the imperfect knowledge which they thus acquire, is frequently more unfavourable to us, than the naked truth itself could be.

We, more than any other nation, have a lawful title to the indulgence and the respect of Europe. Scarcely emerged from barbarism, we are proceeding with rapid strides in civilization; and in part, at least, we may console ourselves for our faults, by looking at the defects of others. I should

be unpardonable if I took pleasure in exhibiting the Russian nation in an unfavourable light,—far from it; it is a very painful task to me, and one which I perform with reluctance; but I regard it as a sacred duty, which no consideration must deter me from performing. Few persons, I am willing to believe, will find themselves in my position, and as a compensation for all the evil which results from it, it would be madness not to profit by the only good which can be derived from it. I have not called down persecution on myself, as the friends of the Government think fit to say; quite the contrary, I have done every thing to avert it; but as the forlorn hope of civilization, it is my duty to defend it at all risks.

I love my country as much as any man, but I love mankind more; and should I even make enemies of my dearest friends, I shall not cease to oppose everything which is a violation of the universal and imperishable laws of social order.

CHAPTER III.

ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY.

I QUITTED Russia for the first time in the spring of 1836. The road from Moscow to St. Petersburg was covered with snow, which was falling there though it was the 21st of May, (O. S.) We had a speedy and pleasant voyage across the Baltic, and in three days and a half we landed at Travemunde. I fancied that I had trod on another planet; the almanac indicated a distance of twelve days between the two countries, but to judge by the appearance of nature, there was a difference of months. The grass was as green in Germany as it was yellow in

Russia; the wheat, which I had left just springing up, had here almost attained its full growth; the trees appeared clothed with all their beauty, whereas in Russia there were neither fruit nor leaves, and we ourselves arrived here, wrapped in our warm furs.

The happiest day in the life of a Russian is incontrovertibly that on which he journies from Travemunde to Lubeck. Nothing can be compared to his happiness; his curiosity is highly excited, everything gives him an agreeable surprise; he leaves frost behind him; a brilliant sun shines over his head, and effuses rays which are all rays of hope. He enjoys life, in the full sense of the expression; he has no longer reason to desire Paradise, for he has seen it here on earth. It would be difficult to find expressions adequate to the enthusiasm which the Russians feel and manifest, more or less openly, under these circumstances.

This sentiment is modified according to

the age, character, and preceding experience of each person, and assumes as many different forms as there are individuals; but in all, it resembles a kind of intoxication. These new pilgrims are almost ready to kiss the ground they tread, like navigators who discover new lands; they can hardly refrain from adoring the sun which they salute as the star of another world and the prophet of another life—a life of happiness and joy*.

A year and a half afterwards I returned to my country by way of Prussia. I approached it with a trembling heart, fearing that it would bear no comparison with the lands which I had visited, not knowing whether I should find indemnification sufficient for the deceptions which I expected. I was like one who is going again to see his betrothed after a long absence. Will she love me? Shall I love her? Shall we suit

* I expressed these ideas on my return from abroad in a Russian Review, 1838.

each other? What can I do for her? What will she be inclined to do for me? Such were the questions which agitated my mind.

At every step that I proceeded, I found more and more indications that I was approaching my native home. The Duchy of Posen offers a pretty decided foretaste of it. I again saw the grey caftans worn by the Russian peasants; the cold became more intense and the snow deeper and deeper. It was in the month of March; I had quitted the opening spring and was proceeding to the depth of winter. It was the reverse of what I had experienced at my departure.

We courageously met the custom-house officers and encountered nothing unpleasant; they made me pay heavily for the importation of gloves and cigars; but they suffered a smelling-bottle and a collection of handkerchiefs to pass, and above all they had the courtesy not to touch my papers. Thus far I was satisfied, but some foreigners

who accompanied me did not fare so well, for the officers disputed about everything, and even found fault with their linen and their clothes, which they declared were too new.

I entered the country at day-break, and the first incident which attracted my attention was a blow with the whip, which my postilion gave a peasant who was passing harmlessly along in a low sledge. My heart was wounded; the peasant said not a word, and received the blow on his back, taking care to stoop a little. The postilion was satisfied with himself, and a complacent smile passed over his countenance. For a moment I thought of turning back again. "It is still," exclaimed I, sadly and thoughtfully, "the country of the knout!" A succession of painful ideas rose before me, while the sledge glided rapidly along over an ocean of snow, which offered not the slightest diversion to my melancholy thoughts.

Lithuania spread before me in all its monotony. I entered dirty and infected

villages, inhabited by Polish Jews. I saw them wearing strange Turkish-looking turbans, and dressed in long tunics. I seemed to be transported into Asia. Thus another foretaste realized my project of a journey to the East. "The barbarism which we cannot avoid," said I, "is surely quite sufficient; its aspect has nothing so attractive nor so interesting as to encourage us to brave, for its sake, the dangers of such a distant journey. An hour's conversation with civilized men is much more desirable than years spent in studying savage manners and rude customs. Let others pursue the study of evil, I have enough to do to fathom the good."

The cold continued to increase, and I soon felt a difficulty in breathing; the wind stifled my breath, and hindered me from speaking. I had taken the precaution to provide myself with an excellent bear-skin pelisse, but my shoes being too thin, my feet were soon frozen; I will say no more of the remainder of my journey. It is

pretty well known what travelling in Russia is. With the exception of the road from St. Petersburg to Moscow, which is the finest causeway in Europe, and where there are very handsome hotels at almost every stage, we no where find roads worthy of the name, or any kind of resource for travellers. On the south the causeway does not go beyond Tula, and on the road towards western Europe, it stops at Narva, which is only forty-five leagues from St. Petersburg. It is difficult to obtain provisions sufficient to satisfy even the most moderate appetite, except in the government towns; the postmasters can indeed provide *bouillotte*, but seldom tea; also a bed, but sheets are an unheard-of luxury, save in the German provinces. Accordingly, the traveller, who has any regard to comfort, is obliged to drag with him all the requisites of a household, from the cook to the kitchen utensils, and even to the sheets on his own bed. The hotels, even in the capital towns, are filthy beyond all

conception, and swarm with vermin, and even those which receive travellers are not free.

The rapidity of travelling post in Russia is great, but it has often been exaggerated, for it by no means exceeds that of the French mails. Private persons obtain the privilege only by means of money or blows, and they lose the advantages of it by the delays which they experience at the stages where they change horses. This is an operation which is performed very leisurely: the ropes of the harness frequently break; sometimes there are no horses; nay, perhaps just as you are stepping into your carriage, your horses are taken away to be harnessed to that of some person high in office, who has arrived unexpectedly. There are no public diligences, except on the roads to Moscow and Riga, and a wretched vehicle is the only accommodation that the post-master is able to place at the disposal of travellers.

No idea can be formed of the petty vexations which strangers experience on their arrival at St. Petersburg, and the French are more exposed to them than any other people. After very long and very circumstantial declarations on a variety of topics which they give in writing, they are subject to an inquisitorial examination by the chief of the secret police, of which the following is a specimen:—

"What are your intentions in coming to Russia?" said General Duvelt, to a Frenchman of my acquaintance.

"I wish to become acquainted with the country."

"You have chosen a very bad season for that purpose."

"I thought that winter was the best time to study Russia."

"I beg your pardon; summer is the best. You have been in the army, Sir?"

"Yes, I have."

"And of course you are anxious to make yourself acquainted with all that concerns our army?"

"I do not aspire to that; I have long since left the service, and have not retained much taste for anything relating to it."

"Do you think of making a long stay in Russia?"

"Some months."

"And by what route do you intend to leave it?"

"I intend to return by way of Odessa and Constantinople."

"Shall you enter into the French service?"

"My past and present affairs may be in your province, the future concerns myself alone."

"I am really ashamed of having asked you all these questions, but my duty required it."

Pushkin has well described St. Petersburg in a few words: "A sumptuous city,

a poor city, the appearance regular, the firmament of heaven of a pale green: gloom, cold, and granite."

The houses look handsomer at a distance than close at hand; they are of brick instead of stone or marble; the buildings are constructed for show, rather than for durability, and fall to decay as quickly as they spring up. Nor is there any taste in the general arrangement. The squares are large wastes, and verdure and fountains are things unknown. While at Berlin you have the Thiergarten, at Vienna the Prater, at London a number of parks, at Paris Les Champs Elisée, at St. Petersburg you have nothing but a mean summer garden. The appearance of some parts of the city, especially the quays, is imposing, and there are fine churches, bridges, and monuments. The reigning Emperor has largely contributed to the embellishment of St. Petersburg, but this he has done in common with great monarchs, as well as with great tyrants.

The ostentation and vanity which they display strikes every eye; the letter N. appears on all the bridges along the causeway to Moscow.

St. Petersburg is a foreign city, a complete imitation; Moscow is a national, and altogether Russian capital; the former is the Imperial residence, the latter the metropolis. Petersburg is a motley collection of citizens and courtiers, of strangers and men in office; Moscow is the residence of the nobility, and the seat of manufactures. Here the streets are narrower and more varied, the inhabitants are more sociable, less distrustful, and more engaged in serious and really useful occupations. Provincial gossip is a good substitute for the intrigues of the court, but the immorality of the latter does not spread its snares here. The absence of the military adds to the tranquillity of life, while it lessens the attractions of fashionable society, and the pomp of processions. The various

branches of the police, official and secret, are less prominent, and even escape the eyes of the inhabitants. All this powerfully contributes to the charm of life, and makes Moscow the quiet retreat of those who have other notions of happiness than promotion in the Imperial service.

The thousand and one churches, which are all built in the national style of architecture, and the convents, equally rich and numerous, tend to keep up the genuine Muscovite piety. The historical reminiscences which float over Moscow recal days of trial and of suffering, of trouble and of discord, and bind to that city all truly Russian hearts. They hold out to them the promise of fair days of future liberty, and console them for the want of the splendour which they have at St. Petersburg, by the remembrance of the tyranny which they would rejoice to see entombed in the marshes of that capital.

With the exception of Odessa, which is

entirely an Italian city, and the most advanced point of European civilization on the Russian soil, the other towns of the empire resemble rude villages, which differ only in their extent. The principal, and almost the sole ornaments of all the cities of the interior, are the churches, which are more or less handsome, and always very numerous; and government buildings some of which are fine, standing in very spacious and uniform squares. The towns are ill-paved, scarcely lighted by night, and contain a far greater number of wooden houses than of stone buildings.

The *Gastinoï-dwor* (the Russian bazaar) is the indispensable ornament of all the towns. It is composed of a file of shops adjoining each other, and comprised in one edifice, distinguished by a variety of rich merchandize. It breaks the monotony of the town by the perpetual cries of the shopkeepers, who seize upon the customers, or dispute with the purchasers.

The Russian villages are exclusively composed of wooden huts, covered with thatch or planks, and form one street, which is often excessively long, intersected by sheds and ornamented with one or two churches. This mode of building renders fires frequent and dangerous.

The almost total absence of mountains imparts a wearisome uniformity to Russian landscapes; the only ones in the interior of the empire are sufficiently characterized by their name, *Elevation Plate*. Scarcely any trees flourish in Upper Russia, except the pine, the fir, and the birch. There the towns and villages are very rare, and even isolated habitations are scarcely to be met with. The desert commences at the gates of St. Petersburg, and extends, with few interruptions, in all directions, although under a variety of names and partial changes of aspect. Sand and morass dispute the possession of the soil. Even agriculture leaves a third part of the cultivated ground fallow, and

half of the land uncultivated. To the south, on entering the government of Orel, the face of the country changes, and the climate at the same time sensibly improves. Vegetable mould succeeds to the clay and sand which predominate in the northern provinces; the vegetation becomes manifestly more rich and vigorous, and the air milder, but the wealth of the people does not keep pace with these improvements in nature. The want of communications, and the distance of the centres of commerce, deprive the country of markets, and keep down the price of provisions, which is so much the lower in proportion to their great abundance.

The climate in the north of Russia is extremely rigorous; in winter the thermometer is often broken by the effect of the cold, and leaves no means of ascertaining its intensity. Winter begins in October, and ends in April; all the other seasons are comprised within five months, which justifies the proverb, that in Russia there are two

winters, one white and the other green. In fact, there are frequent frosts during the night, even in summer, and the temperature suddenly changes from one extreme to the other. At noon the heat is quite African, and at eight o'clock in the evening you are forced to wrap yourself up in a cloak.

There is no other country where the number of ugly women is so great, and of pretty women so small, as in Russia. In the higher ranks of society only, and in the provinces, at a distance from the great roads, we find models of real beauty. In general the women are very robust, while the men are remarkable for their beauty. Civilization, education, and sensibility are almost the exclusive portion of the women, and their superiority to the men is incontestible in everything that regards the cultivation of the mind. This phenomenon is accounted for by the different mode of life pursued by the two sexes. The in-

tellectual faculties of the men are absorbed by the ambition of rising, of decorations, and *tshinns;* while contempt of learning, especially in the army, is fashionable; but happily this fashion does not extend its influence over the ladies.

Chapter IV.

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE.

There is no task at the same time more complex, more embarrassing, and more ungrateful than that of drawing the character of any people. It is often difficult to define the character of an individual: how much more so, then, must it be, to delineate that of a whole nation, and especially of a nation like Russia, which is a compound of so many races. As men of genius and idiots are found among all people, whence none can pretend to a monopoly of the one or of the other, so cold hearts are found in hot countries, and impassioned men and women

in frigid climates. We are therefore authorized to say, that capacities and sentiments are not regulated by the geographical position of a country, or by the origin of nations, but rather by individualities. Vanity and pride, duplicity and falsehood, egotism and avarice, are vices common to all men, and it would be very difficult to say whether they are more general in one nation than in another. We perceive, also, that all nations, from the French and the Russians, to the Chinese and the Jews, are, or may be almost equally courageous and moral; these qualities only vary according to circumstances, or assume different forms as applying to diverse objects. Civilization, besides, fills up, more and more, the distance between nations, smoothes the differences which distinguish them, and tends to generalize their characters. In Russia it has this effect more than elsewhere, because it did not arise there spontaneously, but was imported from foreign

countries, and inoculated on the people at one stroke. But as its work is not complete, the character of the people is not yet definitively formed, and its actual state is one of transition. In order thoroughly to appreciate it, we must study it in all the shades caused by the differences of origin, of classes, and of occupations. But as there are, nevertheless, several general points common to all these varieties, and others which are peculiar to the Russian nation, we will endeavour to lay hold of them, though fully aware how thankless such an undertaking is; for we never praise a nation sufficiently to please it, and the blame which we lay upon it, however well founded it may be, invariably wounds its susceptibility.

The Russian is naturally good and mild, more so than other nations: this is a point which is generally conceded. He still retains something of his primitive barbarism, as he has already borrowed some of the

defects of modern civilization; but, on the whole, he merits esteem in more than one respect, and if he does not decay before he is ripe (a puerile and absurd fear), if the Government does not cause him to receive an impression which it would afterwards be too late to efface, he may in time rise high in public opinion.

A bad, and unhappily too common penchant, in this people, is that of cheating. Not finding a worthy and sufficient occupation for his mind, the Russian turns his attention to fraud, which he considers as an easy means of rising in the world. This is an effect of the want of civilization and the fruit of slavery. Not feeling his strength, or not daring to make use of it, he has recourse, in most instances, to craft. This is also a proof of his misery, not knowing any remedy for his sufferings, and unable to escape the evils which overwhelm him, he is more liable than another to fall into fatal derelictions, such as cheating, drunken-

ness, and general debauchery. But the very abberrations of mind, may serve as a criterion of his ingenuity; the Russian sharper may rival the most adroit in the world, and surprising instances of his knavery are adduced.

An officer being warned that robberies were committed in the steamers, on their departure for foreign countries, carefully kept his hands in his pockets while chatting with a friend of whom he came to take leave. The bell rung; he embraced his friend, and immediately put his hands into his pockets, but found them empty.

Another laid his eye-glass on the counter of a refreshment room at a theatre, and watched it very attentively, but when he raised a tumbler to his lips, the eye-glass vanished.

Not to repeat facts which may have happened in other countries, or which occur everywhere, without our being able to determine the place of their origin, I will

mention one that happened to myself. Being on my way from Twer to Moscow, I hired a coachman who was to drive me by a certain time to the latter city. On the way thither, during the night, he asked me for part of the money agreed upon. Being awakened on a sudden, I gave him eight rubles more than he was entitled to, and which I did not perceive till the next day. A fortnight afterwards he saw me on the same road, recognised me, and came up holding his hat in his hand. I thought he was going to return the rubles, and was delighted at having met with such an honest man, but how great was my surprise, when I found that he came to demand eight rubles more, saying that, in my sleep, I had made a mistake in the reckoning. The trick was so absurd, that I could not be angry, and the man actually made no difficulty in acknowledging that he was wrong, as soon as I gave him credit for his ingenuity!

Cheating is carried to such excess in Russia, that one might be tempted to say, it is in the air or in the blood. Russian commerce and manufactures are unquestionably the most dishonest in the world. China and England have had equal reason to complain of it. The Chinese, who are too suspicious to receive, without examination, the rolls of Russian cloth, find pieces of wood inside; the English receive grease instead of tallow. Their Government has in vain repeatedly protested against these abuses, and the Emperor has in vain issued decrees to suppress them. A Frenchman, who was appointed by the Government to unmask all this fraud, was well nigh killed by the manufacturers; and the officers have evidently not been proof against the seductions which he resisted, for his denunciations have had no effect.

The petty shopkeepers live only by plunder: you purchase an article in a shop, and take a different one home with you;

you must be always on your guard. All servants are notorious thieves, especially the cooks and coachmen. It may be pretty much the same every where, yet it is never carried to such excess as in Russia: there the officers, even of the public administrations, seize eagerly with both hands; they do not wait till you give them something, but they beg and bargain with you, accept large presents, and do not disdain the most trifling. Drunkenness is no where so common as in Russia. This may be traced to various causes: such as poverty, despair arising from the precarious state of things, the want of security for property, the uncertainty of the future, and, above all, the lack of education. Time, and the Government, may do much to remedy these evils; the first, by enlightening the masses, and the second, by seeking more honourable sources of revenue than the distilleries, of which it retains the monopoly, by making itself the first tavern-keeper in the country.

Manual skill is a talent peculiar to the Russians; without any instrument, save his hatchet, the peasant succeeds in the most complex constructions and delicate carving in wood. The intrepidity and dexterity of the journeyman masons is really surprising: they are seen suspended at immense heights working with great precision.

The Russian possesses, in a very high degree, the faculty of imitation, and it is unjust to refuse him that of invention. Hitherto, he has had enough to do to reproduce what has been done by others; when he has no more to imitate, he will be able to create. In point of intelligence, as well as in the general traits of character, the Russian holds the middle place between the Frenchman and the German; he has, at times, the profoundness of the one and the brilliancy of the other. He is less phlegmatic than the German, and less sparkling than the Frenchman; more practical than the former, less inconstant than the latter;

and less a slave to routine than either. Russian, or rather Sclavonian intellect, unites in itself both these elements, and conciliates the two characters. I am not one of those who think that he has the vocation to regenerate the world, for I do not believe that the world is disorganizing and approaching its destruction; but I am of opinion that he is destined to reconcile the French and the German intellects, to complete the one by the other, to blend and combine both, and in time, perhaps, to extend the sphere of their action.

As I have before observed, it is very difficult to define the morality of any people, and especially to state in this respect, its superiority or its inferiority, in juxtaposition with another. When compared with his European neighbours, the Russian has less of that immorality of mind which is the fruit of advanced civilization; but he has also less of that morality, founded

on principle, which only a solid and prudent education can give. His sensual immorality has neither for its cause, its excuse, or ornament, that imagination which explains and redeems that of polished nations. If he is debauched, he is so, even to brutality, through the heart rather than the mind; and the seductions which he finds in his country are not of such a nature as to cause or to extenuate his aberrations.

The woman, (I speak of the woman of the great world,) is more refined in her licence, thanks to the bitter-sweet fruits of French romance; but she does not take sufficient pains, or has not sufficient tact to veil her intrigues; and the want of reserve on the part of some Russian ladies has obtained for them European celebrity. This laxity is more fatal, because, as it spreads, it undermines domestic happiness, which is the only refuge of the Russian, who is so poor in pleasure and comforts, and contributes to

destroy family ties, which other causes render very insecure.

The Russian has great strength, both of body and mind; he readily endures fatigue and privation, and could easily bear all kinds of suffering if his moral were equal to his physical strength; his equanimity and perseverance often give him an indisputable superiority over other nations; but his nonchalance and his carelessness are perfectly Asiatic. They are the effects of the want of civilization, and, in their turn, one of the causes which check improvement. The Russian has zeal and application only by fits and starts, and his idleness is one of the chief obstacles to the development of the powers of the country.

He is more ambitious than men of other climes; the political organization of his country makes it imperative on him; but as it at the same time paralyzes his zeal and represses the exercise of his capacity, there is no country where there are so

many instances of persons who have failed in their career, or been disappointed in their ambitious projects, or where discontent, unable to find vent in legitimate and open opposition, terminates in melancholy apathy or inevitable ruin. It is, however, consolatory to see that while some sacrifice everything to their career, their honour, and even their relations, there are others who do not think that the gifts of Goverment can compensate for the humiliations, with which its favours are accompanied.

The Russian is pious, hospitable, and generous; qualities which are common to primitive nations, and which civilization unfortunately tends to weaken. But his piety is closely allied to superstition, and consists almost entirely in the scrupulous observance of religious forms. I have seen a thief with with one hand pick the pocket of a passenger, and with the other make the sign of the cross at the sound of the vesper bell. The Russian perpetually makes the sign of

the cross; he does it in front of every church and every image, when entering a room or leaving it, when sitting down to table or when rising from it, when retiring to bed, and when getting up.

Next to the King of heaven the Czar is the object of the adoration of the Russian. He is in his estimation the representative and the elect of God, as he is the head of His Church, the source of all the beatitudes, and the first cause of all fear. His hand distributes as bounteously as his arm strikes heavily. Love, fear, and humble respect, are blended in this deification of the monarch, which most frequently serves only to mask the cupidity of some and the pusillanimity of others. The Czar is the centre of all the rays, the focus to which every eye is directed; he is the *red sun* of the Russians, for they thus designate him; while they call the vestibule of the Kremlin, where the ancient Czars showed themselves to the people, the Red Vestibule; *Krasnoïé Kryltzo.*

In public every eye is directed towards the Emperor; in the drawing-room the conversation turns solely upon him and his family; even in private, men's thoughts are chiefly engaged about him. All that he does is well done, and worthy of imitation; everybody walks in the promenades at the time that he walks; everybody loves dancing because he is fond of it; and there is no person who does not admire the military service, because the Emperor is a zealous advocate for it. The Czar is the father of the whole nation, and no one has any relation that can be named in the same day with the Emperor. When his interest speaks, every other voice is hushed.

The relations of the conspirators of 1825 were dancing while those unfortunate men were made to pass through the city, and it is difficult to say whether the mother, who accepted 300 rubles as a reward for having given up her son, who was a deserter, or the Emperor, who gave them to her, acted the

most like a Spartan. There is abundance of liberalism with closed doors, but stones are thrown at him who revolts, and a liberal who is compromised is shunned like a leper. Those men who at different times have sacrificed themselves for the public good, have reaped more indifference and hatred than sympathy. Instances are not wanting of relatives who have abandoned their sons and their brothers in Siberia without an attempt to save them, and then enjoyed the property, to which they had become the heirs by their condemnation; nay, and who afterwards were reluctant even to carry on a correspondence with them; and whose unfeeling conduct has been the severest part of the fate of these poor sufferers. Mr. L. having one day brought letters from these exiles to their relations, they refused to take them, because they had not come through an official channel. It is consolatory, however, to say that such has not been the line pursued by all; and history

will religiously preserve the memory of Princess Trubetzkoi (née Countess Laval); of Madame Larischkin (née Naryschkin); and of Madame Rosen, who refused to separate their fortunes from those of their husbands. France can boast of having at all times and in all places taken a noble share in acts of similar devotedness. A French lady, the companion of Madame Ivaschef, after having concealed from every eye her attachment to the son of that lady, went to Siberia to offer him her hand, where from the rank of a distinguished officer of the Guards, he had been reduced to the condition of an unhappy slave. She gladly lightened the burden of his sufferings and has just returned with him to Russia.

Nothing is comparable to the happiness of a Russian when the Emperor condescends to speak to him. It is in truth curious to see how the courtiers are on the watch for every word that falls from the Imperial lips. They stand waiting for

a word, quite motionless, listening with the most eager attention and riveted looks, instantly crowd round him who has been so fortunate as to receive it, or withdraw with long faces and chagrined looks, when they have been disappointed in their expectation. The Commandant Baschutzky asked the Emperor Alexander as the only favour he wanted, that every time he saw him at Court, he would whisper into his ear the word "imbecile."

A French Ambassador, being desirous to speak to Paul I., and vexed at seeing him continually address one of his favourites, said, "Sire, that is apparently some great man of your empire?" "Know," replied the Czar, "that there is no great man but he to whom I speak, and that only as long as I speak to him!"

There is still something which surpasses the honour of a conversation with the Sovereign, namely, one of those *liasons* which seem to approximate to his family those

who are *honoured* by it; but it is not everybody that can obtain it. If they do not go so far at Court as to congratulate the husband who has been deceived by a member of the Imperial family, it is as much from jealousy as from decorum; but they seldom fail to envy his lot, and he himself is so little master of his happiness, as openly to boast of it.

Barbarism, tyranny, and immorality are born and thrive in unworthy promiscuousness. They are so closely allied, that it is difficult to distinguish the mother from the offspring; the one produces and maintains the other. Tyranny is established, and subsists by means of the barbarism which it propagates, and sustains in its turn; while immorality necessarily succeeds and crowns the work. To study the melancholy effects of this combination of these three elements, we must go to Russia. The Russian does not understand how to stop at the limits of obedience, he confounds it with

servility, and order with slavery; he sees in liberalism a want of calculation and good sense, whenever he does not dare to designate it as treason. Few persons are to be found in Russia capable of comprehending that liberty is a condition and an effect of the dignity of man, and the Russian is generally ignorant that moral and civil courage are fully as difficult to acquire, and equally as honourable as purely physical courage. The great majority of Russian liberals are merely malcontents, and thanks to the fatal conviction that an absolute Government is the only Government which is at present adapted to their country, enlightened men contrive to live at peace with their conscience. They will not understand that even if it were so, it is the sacred duty of an honest man to contribute, to the utmost of his power, to the spread of civilization, and to hasten the order of things, from which it necessarily flows; for if a free Government be an effect

of civilization, it is likewise a cause of it, and I believe that we might as well begin with the one as with the other. Russia is a land of serfs and men in office; the virtues which accompany or flow from liberty are unknown here. It is the Government which makes the Russian what he is, and which ought to bear the responsibility of all his defects. It is to the Government, much more than to the character of the Russians, that we must attribute the hatred which is felt towards them as a nation; and this hatred is so strong, so general in foreign parts, that I have met with some of my fellow countrymen who did not dare to confess to what nation they belonged.

It is an error to believe that hatred of slavery, love of liberty, and contempt of tyranny are exclusively the effect of civilization; they arise solely from a sentiment of dignity, and are met with among savage races, as well as among the most civilized people.

CHAPTER V.

MODE OF LIFE.

THE Russian is very sedentary, for the climate compels him to be so, and his manners are in consequence as indolent as those of the Oriental. He prefers lying down to standing, and riding in a carriage to walking on foot. Idleness is a general defect of the nation. An equipage is an article of the first necessity; fashion prescribes it as a law, and the great distances to be traversed in the towns, render it almost indispensable; while the cheapness of horses and of forage, and the facilities which the nobles have of taking their coach-

men from among their serfs, makes it very inexpensive to keep a carriage. Accordingly, there is no gentleman, however small his fortune, who does not sport a carriage, and no wretch, however poor, who cannot boast of a vehicle. The number of carriages on the public roads is therefore positively countless; but for that very reason they are seldom worth looking at. The horses are scarcely ever well matched, and certainly the Russian coachmakers cannot yet rival their foreign neighbours.

At St. Petersburg the number of droshki and hackney sledges is incalculable; besides those which are stationed at certain stands, and which are the best, thousands circulate in all parts of the city. In the winter, all the peasants who have no work in the country, come with their horse and a wretched sledge, to drive the inhabitants of St. Petersburg, on excessively moderate terms. There is not any fixed scale of prices for these hired carriages,

which gives occasion to perpetual disputes, altercations, and even blows.

The long droshki are the rudest carriages imaginable, the lightest and the most inconvenient. They consist of a long plank placed on springs, borne on four wheels, close to the ground, covered with a cushion, and flanked with lateral boards, which afford but slight protection against the mud; sometimes there is a small seat in front for the coachman, but oftener there is none. In this case the driver seats himself astride on the droshki, twisting his robe round his legs, and supporting his feet by the side of the wheels, which splash him unmercifully. The master likewise sitting astride, takes the place behind him, and may, in case of necessity, place another person between himself and the coachman. This man holds on as tightly as he can, at the risk of being thrown out at the first jerk.

The round droshki is an approach towards the cabriolet. There are likewise covered

droshki, which are a shade more respectable, but they are going more and more out of fashion, whereas they are becoming more common at Berlin and at Paris.

The houses are seldom kept in good condition, especially in Moscow, and you are sure of finding some dirty hole in almost all of them. Comfort and elegance, taste and luxury, are, however, making great progress in the furniture. The number of domestics is overwhelming; but they are for the most part ill-fed, ill-clad, and badly paid. The antechambers are crowded with them, and they contribute rather to the filth than to the neatness of the house.

It is easy to protect yourself from the cold in Russia, thanks to the abundance of furs and the cheapness of firewood. St. Petersburg is indebted for the latter advantage to the great number of barks which arrive from the interior, and which, when they are unloaded, are broken up to serve as fuel for the city. Hence fuel is only half as dear

as at Moscow, which has no inland navigation.

In the winter the doors are double, and well listed; the stoves are of immense size, and constructed upon a system which so thoroughly condenses the heat, that it is sufficient to make up a good fire once in the day constantly to maintain a very high temperature. Some persons believe that the great heat which prevails in the Russian apartments is unfavourable to their health, especially in the bed rooms; others think, with M. Virey, that it is the cause of their passionate dispositions! What is more injurious to health than the heat of the houses is undoubtedly the humidity of the marshy tracts which surround St. Petersburg. It is presumed to be the first cause of the scrofulous affections to which the people are subject.

Carpets and chimneys are a luxury which has not yet become general. The pelisses afford complete shelter against the rigour

of the climate; whence you are better protected here from the effects of the severest frosts than in other countries, where the cold often takes the inhabitants by surprise.

The Russian cookery is very indigestible, and, with the exception of some dishes, cannot be touched by delicate persons. It is therefore banished to the inferior classes, and is replaced among the nobility by French cookery.

Two or three kinds of soups, gruel, and Russian cakes, are the only dishes which retain their privilege of appearing at the best tables. Generally speaking people live very well, and the meals are numerous and sumptuous. The consumption of champagne is immense. It is said that more champagne is drunk in Russia than is made in France; and the Russian infant learns the name of cliquot at the same time as the words father and mother. This wine costs, however, twice as much as at Paris, because the Russian exchequer takes a

glass for every one drunk by a private person.

The best Bordeaux wines are sent to Russia; but Burgundy will not stand the passage by sea. Several wines of the Crimea rival those of France, and might prove a great resource, if proper advantage were taken of them. Nevertheless, the use of wine is not yet general; *kwas* and brandy supply its place in moderate establishments.

Tea is a favourite beverage of the Russians, and some people drink it all day long, just as the Spaniards do their chocolate. A German tourist remarked, that "while civilized Europe loudly calls for gold, the Russian calls for tea."

The Russians are much addicted to smoking, and their tobacco is of a pretty good quality, the excise not having yet interfered with it. The young men carry the mania of smoking to a great excess, and have valets in their service, specially appointed to fill and light their pipes. If the master

enters, or rings his bell, they do not ask what he wants, but immediately hasten to him with his pipe and light. Formerly there was much ostentation displayed in their pipes, and in the amber mouth-pieces; now quantity has supplanted quality; and the cigar is already beginning to assert its right over the pipe.

The vapour baths are nearly the same as they have been from time immemorial; they are at once a luxury and a pleasure, promoting cleanliness and health. The use of linen is not so general as might be desired; nay, it is still a mark of distinction of the higher ranks. Many persons change it only when they go to the baths—once, or at most, twice a week.

"So you put on clean linen every day," said a Russian officer to his comrade, who had been accustomed to Parisian habits. "And you?" inquired the latter. "I keep that for Saturday," replied the other, with great naïveté. In fact there are persons

who prefer coloured linen, because it is less liable to become dirty, or at least to appear so.

Cards are the usual resource and amusement of the Russians, and fill up their evenings more than dancing and conversation. Whist and *Préférence* have superseded Pharao and Lansquenet; and the civil officers, in particular, have acquired great skill in these games.

Economy is a thing unknown to the Russians; they are either covetous or avaricious, and the former more often than the latter. Some merchants deprive themselves of every pleasure in life to hoard up their wealth, and succeed thereby, rather than by successful speculations, in amassing immense fortunes, which the sons squander away more rapidly than their fathers have acquired them.

The nobles, on the contrary, generally live far beyond their income, and consequently contract immense debts, of which

they defer the payment till the time of their marriage, or their promotion in the service. It is considered fashionable, and a mark of good breeding, to get into debt, and to send the creditors about their business if they venture to apply for their due. The public service creates a kind of right in this respect, by securing the military and civil officers against certain legal annoyances; and, accordingly, there is no country in the world where it is more difficult to get paid, and where credit is less extended. Those who are wise withdraw betimes to their estates, in order to repair the breaches which a residence in the capital has made in their fortunes.

The nobleman may choose between entering the public service, living on his estates, and going on foreign travel. He who enters the service must renounce all individuality and independence, arm himself with patience, indifference, and insensibility, and hope for promotion only by

perseverance in all these melancholy elements of success. He must always flatter and cringe, but never complain; still less may he allow himself to have, or to give, an opinion of his own.

No person can reside at St. Petersburg without being in the service, at least for form's sake—that is to say, without being inscribed in some branch of the Administration; but in the Provinces it is extremely difficult to escape serving in elective offices.

The life of the landowner is monotonous and insipid in the extreme; winter especially is insupportable in the country, and everybody in tolerable circumstances spends it at Moscow, or at least in the capital of his province, where he has the resource of clubs, of some balls given by the nobility, and of gambling. The country seats lie very scattered, and their owners see each other but seldom, and whenever they do meet, they always pass several days together. Hunting and fishing parties are rare; the

newspapers go round in a limited circle, and conversation languishes or turns only on uninteresting subjects.

The most civilized, the most discontented, or the most wealthy, go to amuse or to console themselves in foreign countries, where a residence seldom fails to be of great advantage to their minds, even though, on their return, they resume their former habits.

Travelling is, however, often resorted to by the Russians as a source of economy as well as of luxury; but this does not prevent the Czar from using every effort in his power to hinder the visits of his subjects to foreign countries. The difficulties which he throws in their way enhance the temptation, and the emigration of the Russian nobles has become quite systematic. They save up money only that they may be able to go abroad, where they remain till their resources are wholly exhausted, or till the expiration of the term for which their pass-

port is granted, viz., five years for the nobleman, and three years for the citizen. The latter is presumed to be more diligent or more dexterous in his affairs, or to have less important business than the nobleman, who, in fact, has no business save his pleasure. The mania for travelling is stronger in the courtiers than their complaisance for their Sovereign—nay, the Grand Duke Michael himself said, that if he were merely a Russian general, he would not fail to go to Paris.

The life of the merchant is very different from that of the nobleman. He plays at draughts instead of cards, rides in a car instead of a chariot, and has the liberty to wear a long beard, an ornament which no nobleman is permitted to indulge in. He is faithful to the Russian cookery, drinks his champagne, and sips his tea in the saucer instead of the cup. He employs his superfluous wealth in ornamenting the images of his patron saint, and in adorn-

ing his wife; the whole in the worst taste imaginable. His children have nothing more at heart than to throw aside the national costume, and to dress like *petits maîtres.*

The vanity of the peasant is displayed in the ornaments of his cottage. The Russian huts have a great resemblance to the Swiss cottages; the handsomest are two stories in height, and are covered with a great profusion of carvings in wood, and sometimes they are painted with very brilliant colours. Those peasants who are in tolerable circumstances preserve very great neatness in the interior of their dwellings, and this extends even to the *Tarracans,* which a popular prejudice has stamped as guests that bring good fortune. The stove and the bed are curious articles; the former occupies the middle, or the largest part of the room, and the bed is a wooden stage on tressels, and forms a kind of second ceiling where the whole family sleeps, nay

sometimes several families sleep under the same roof, by the side of each other.

The Russian peasant likes to marry while young; indeed a wife is indispensable to him. She is his workwoman, his servant, and his housekeeper. He does not absolutely insist on her virtue, and hence the young villagers almost always have lovers before they have a husband. There is something extremely pleasing and delightful in the politeness and candour of a Russian peasant; he salutes all he meets, and has a kind word for everybody. If he finds a man at work, he says "May God assist you;" and if he sees any one eating, he cries "Bread and salt!"

On holidays the villages present a very animated appearance, the people dress themselves in their best, the grey caftan is superseded by the blue, and the bark leggings are laid aside for the boot or shoe. The women put on their smartest cap, or

chacot of stuff, more or less fine, ornamented with ribbons and beads.

The assembled population amuse themselves with singing and dancing, to which gambling is sometimes added. The songs are of a rather melancholy cast, and of an equivocal character, but the choruses are very agreeable.

The *ba-la-laika* supersedes the guitar as an accompaniment both to the voice and the dance, in which the heels and arms of the performers act the principal part. The *garcilke* is a very general and very innocent game; the dancers arrange themselves in two rows behind each other, the men giving their hands to the women. At the head is the principal person, who *burns*, as it is called, and hence the name given to this game. The last couple separates and runs forward, he who burns must endeavour to catch the woman before her partner, if he succeeds, the latter takes his place, and so on.

The Russian mountains afford a never-ending diversion in the depth of winter. They are built by the street boys with the first ice, and during the carnival, are erected even in the capital towns for the use of the populace. At Easter, when the ice has disappeared, they are made of wood. The bon ton have mountains of their own at St. Petersburg, which they call *English*, because an English club has the direction of them.

The Easter holidays are celebrated in a singular manner, and continue at least for a week, which is called Holy week. The people then greet each other, according to established custom, and embrace three times; some, however, do not content themselves with exercising their privilege on their acquaintances, but select pretty women in preference, who cannot refuse with a good grace, unless they belong to a higher class of society, where foreign manners have acquired an ascendancy over the national usages and religious habits. The Emperor embraces

all his court, and all the officers of the guard, on the first day of the holidays, and the Empress allows them to kiss her hand. On these occasions it is the custom to say, "Christ is risen," and to answer, "Risen indeed!" One day, when the Emperor Nicholas thus saluted a Jewish sentinel, the latter replied, "It is a terrible lie!" The Czar very considerately ordered that the Jews should not again be made to mount guard on those days.

Painted eggs and imitations of them in china, sugar, and wax, are offered and received in profusion. The people amuse themselves in breaking them, one against the other, and making them roll in tubes: the winner in the first case is he whose egg breaks the other; and, in the latter, he who touches it.

Russia is very rich in game of every kind, and the chase is excessively easy; with the exception however of bear-hunting, which is as dangerous as it is diverting.

This animal, which is peculiarly national, has very singular habits, with which the natives are perfectly acquainted. He is very fond of wheat, and often goes into the fields by night. The strawberry is his favourite fruit, and more than one woman has found herself face to face with a bear while gathering strawberries. A woman was once surprised at seeing a bear just opposite to her, she was excessively alarmed, and gave him a violent blow on the head with her basket. The beast, taken by surprise, was seized with a panic terror, and fled as fast as he could. It is said that he was found dead at some leagues' distant, and this is by no means improbable, for other facts of the same nature prove that this animal is subject to sudden terrors which are capable of causing his death.

In winter the bear covers himself with dry leaves, and remains lying on the same spot, sucking his paws, which in fact is all the nourishment he gets. A solitary pea-

sant sometimes ventures to attack this animal, armed only with his hunting knife. He quietly allows him to place his front paws on his shoulders, in order the more easily to plunge the knife into his belly. At other times, two men go together, armed with forks, and seek out the bear in his retreat. They salute him in a friendly manner, call him by his name, Michael, and walk composedly for some way by his side. Suddenly, one of them makes a movement as if to attack the beast, which instantly falls upon him, leaving his side exposed to the other hunter, who plunges his fork into his loins, and with the assistance of his comrade easily overpowers him.

Sometimes the bear is taken by means of his defects, which are obstinacy and gluttony; snares of this kind are particularly successful with the cubs. Thus for instance, balls stuck with nails are thrown at them which they persist in endeavouring to crush, and the more pain the nails give

them, the closer they drive them into their paws; or a barrel smeared with honey is thrown to them, which easily sticks fast to their head, and they are thus taken alive by the huntsman.

When the bear is wounded, he becomes furious, breaks the trees, or if there are none, tears up heaps of earth, which he tosses into the air. Whenever he throws down a man, he cleaves his skull, and consequently, if any one is so unfortunate as to be without defence, he takes care to fall before him in such a manner as to expose the less noble part of his body to the bear's claws.

Wolves are very common, in consequence of the want of regular battues, but in the western provinces, which are the most void of wood, they, as well as the bears, are becoming more and more scarce. They are inoffensive and timid in summer, but in winter they approach the dwellings and attack man and beast. They always fall

upon the latter rather than upon the former, and above all, devour any of their own troop that are killed or wounded. The parts which they prefer, are the calves of men and the breasts of women. They are attracted by the squeaking of a pig, and whenever a peasant goes out to hunt them, he fastens sucking pigs to his traineaux, whose squeaking allures them.

The moorcock is the principal game in Russia, which it never leaves, and it is hunted both in winter and summer. In winter, a sort of tent of boughs is built in the forest, at the top of which the sportsmen place impaled cocks, that serve to attract the game. The habits of these birds deserve to be attentively studied. They have scouts which warn the band of the approach of the hunter, upon which they instantly flee away, but do not fly; they have leaders, which are the oldest and most experienced among them, and which it is extremely difficult to kill, for they are

the last that suffer themselves to be caught in the trap of the impaled cock.

The deaf heath cock is two or three times as large as the common cock. It is remarkable that he is deaf only while he is crowing, and that as soon as he stops, the slightest noise scares him away. The hunter is therefore obliged to attack him while he is actually crowing; as long as it lasts he is quite at liberty, and may even miss the bird without being heard; but he must refrain from the slightest movement when the cock is silent.

The woodcock is found in great profusion in Russia, and the snipe exists in all its varieties. The red partridge and the pheasant are met with only in the south, and are very numerous in the Caucasus. The white partridge is as common as the grey; and there is an abundance of hares and foxes, whereas rabbits and goats are extremely rare.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT.

THE distinctive characteristics of the Russian Government are despotism and rapacity. It has never conceived the possibility of reigning without oppression; nor has it been able to comprehend that gentleness secures the happiness of the people and the security of the Government, more than cruelty, which in Russia, is called just severity, while tyranny is confounded with power.

The Emperor Nicholas is the declared enemy of liberty, and his entire policy is concentrated to persecute it to the utmost.

He believes that liberty is equivalent to disorder, and cannot comprehend that order cannot exist without it, and that there are no abuses of power under the regimen of slavery. Nicholas has stifled liberty in Poland; and has done everything he can to crush it in Russia. In a letter which he wrote to the Emperor of Austria, at the opening of the second campaign in Turkey, he told him, that "in order to assist him against liberalism, which was raising its head even at the foot of thrones, and which he deplored as much as himself, it was necessary that Francis II. should not encourage the resistance of the Sultan, which required the employment of all the forces of Russia."

When will sovereigns be convinced that their interests, and those of their people, are identical? That without liberty there is neither wealth nor civilization? That to suppress it is to commit robbery, and that to give it is to acquire the highest title to

renown, and to the gratitude of the world. It is not necessary to be a Washington for the accomplishment of this; it is quite enough to be an honest well-intentioned man. It is the duty of a Government, not only not to restrict the liberty of its people, but to elevate them, and qualify them for the enjoyment of it. Nicholas often makes a show of frankness; he says that "a constitutional government is repugnant to his honourable feelings, because it commands plots and intrigues, of which he disapproves." What is there in this to call for our admiration? The frankness of despotism is only the impudence of vice.

The peculations of persons in office are beyond all conception. All the functionaries, high and low, steal openly and with impunity, from the amunition to the rations of the soldiers and the medicines of the hospitals. Will it be believed that they actually conceal the number of men who

fall in every action till the end of the campaign, and thus continue to receive the provisions and equipment of those who have disappeared from the ranks, but who nevertheless remain on the lists till the end of the war? In the Caucasus, where hostilities are incessant, this abuse had risen to an enormous excess; the ranks were thinned, yet the lists were full, as also were the pockets of the officers*.

The captain lives on his squadron or his company; the colonel on his regiment; the general on his brigade; and so on. On giving up the command of his corps, the general comes to an understanding with his successor, and nothing more is said†.

* In 1813 and 1814, Colonel P. took care to indicate among the dead, the soldiers who prepare the gruel for their comrades, because they carry the iron pots used for this purpose about with them, the loss of which it was necessary to replace; all this was so much gain for their insatiable chief, who had besides acquired a large fortune with his wife.

† Endeavours are now being made to remedy these

The officers of police who receive salaries of 1000 francs, have cloaks and horses worth many thousand rubles. The heads of the police have houses, and the governors hotels. Persons in office make their fortunes much quicker in Russia than in other countries, and in some departments sooner than in others. One hand washes the other. The officers, high and low, share their gains, and woe to him who shall pretend to act with probity; the poor innocent sheep would speedily be devoured by these rapacious wolves.

By the aid of money the worst causes are gained in the tribunals, and money will purchase indemnities for every crime. Does any one desire to institute a law suit? He does not inquire whether he has better rights than his adversary, but merely examines whether he is richer. In that case,

abuses, by depriving the military chiefs of everything relative to the administration of the corps, and to entrust it to a special commission.

being certain of having the judges on his side, he proceeds to act. The Emperor himself declares that he is powerless against this scourge, and it is well for him if his own fortune is not stolen*.

On the other hand, he has confiscated the estates of the Poles for the benefit of the Crown, and this refinement of cruelty

* During my stay at Berlin, a characteristic anecdote was in circulation.

The Emperor, during one of his visits to that capital, showed Prince Augustus a snuff-box, which his Majesty intended for M. Krüger, and which the Prince greatly admired. After it had been given to the artist, his Royal Highness expressed a wish to see it again, and great was his surprise on finding a very ordinary snuff-box in place of the one which had been shown him. He spoke of it to the Emperor, who, perceiving that he had been robbed, replied that he should have too much to do if he attempted to eradicate this vice.

This did not prevent the degradation and banishment of the contractors, who had so badly provided the Russian corps at the reviews of Karlisch, in 1835, and afterwards Prince D——— was deprived of his epaulettes as aid-de-camp to the Emperor in the Caucasus, which were bestowed on his brother-in-law, the Baron Rosen.

cannot be justified in our days. M. Gejelinshky made a trade even with the Emperor's signature. He was at the head of the Chancery of the Committee of Ministers, and, on the receipt of large bribes, effaced or altered the Imperial decisions which were written in pencil. He was informed against by a clerk whom he had dismissed, and was accordingly summoned by the Emperor, who promised that he would be lenient to him if he confessed his crime. He did so, and was brought to trial, but when before the Court, he denied the confession which he had made to Nicholas. He was degraded to the rank of a private soldier, upon which the Emperor, yielding to a culpable weakness, had him admitted into the 14th class, in order to enable him to enjoy the property which he had amassed so illegally. Since this affair the decisions of the Emperor, written in pencil, are covered with a kind of varnish, which prevents their being altered.

The main spring and sole object of the Russian Government is its own interest; the happiness of the people it regards as of secondary importance. Their physical wants are all that it endeavours to provide for, and as this is impossible, without the civilization which it dreads, because it does not comprehend it, it finds itself condemned to the punishment of the Danaids. "What I desire above all things," said the Emperor Nicholas, "is to secure the tranquillity of my son's reign:" and this son, on hastening to meet and congratulate him on having escaped the mysterious musket-shot at Posen, which, according to all appearances, proceeded from a carriage in his own suite, the Czar reprimanded him severely. "We must not," said he, "make the people entertain the idea that it is possible to fire at the Czar."

One day Count Benkendorf said to the Russian author B——, whom he lectured for a patriotic article, "You must not instil

such notions into the people: they are the cattle which serve to draw the car."

In this Government the Emperor is everything: all moves and lives only through him. From the colour of a dress and the button of a coat, to the most complex law-suit; everything passes, or is supposed to pass through his hands, and nothing can be done without his orders or his sanction. His interests ought to be the rule and the primary duty of every person in his service, and the Russian Government has the simplicity to write at the head of its legislation: the Emperor of all the Russias is an autocrat monarch, whose power is unlimited. God himself orders all to obey his supreme will, not only from fear, but from conviction.—Swod., vol. I., sec. i., art. 1*.

* The catechism used in the Polish provinces speaks of the homage paid to the Emperor: it says, that "People must submit to the decrees of his justice, according to the example of Christ, who died upon the cross." M.

"The power of the Government," says an article of the same code, "belongs, in its full extent, to the Government." It is the Government which makes and which changes the laws. The 60th article lays it down as a rule, that the laws have no retrospective force, but the following article excepts all those in which it is expressly stated that they apply to times anterior to the publication. The 70th article formally states, that "every distinct or special ukase, applying to a certain cause, or to a certain order of things, deprives the general laws of their force for these same causes;" and it adds, that "privileges granted by the Emperor to individuals or to societies, may contain clauses contrary to the general laws, which lose all their effect as far as those cases are concerned." Everyday exceptions to the general laws pass under

de la Mennais exclaimed on this subject, "It has been given to this man to enlarge the limits of blasphemy!"

the egis of these words, "*ne v primer drougnim,*" without application to other cases. Tyranny has never held more frank language, nor shewn less reserve in plainly expressing her meaning; far from blushing at herself, she believes, and would have you to believe, that she is the guardian angel of Russia.

The interest of the Sovereign is the clue which runs through the labyrinth of Russian legislation. It is this which the Governors of the Provinces are to attend to in the first place: the interest of the country is a secondary consideration. The censorship is enjoined to attend to it above all things. In the churches, the Emperor is placed on an equality with God. The Czar is prayed for more than the human race and the spread of the Gospel of Christ; and the liberty of religion is inscribed in the laws, only that God may be prayed to for the happiness of the Sove-

reign, in all languages and according to all religious forms*.

The judicial power appertains to the Czar as much as the legislative and the executive. The Emperor may suspend, modify, revise, or quash every kind of sentence, mitigate or aggravate a punishment, and unhappily, Nicholas more frequently uses the latter than the former of these privileges. Prescription is a mere illusion. Baron B——, an aid-de-camp of General Diebitsch was recommended to the Czar by the Field Marshal, respecting an affair which had been terminated more than fifteen years before, and the Emperor ordered

Swod., vol. I, art. 45. " Religious liberty is given not only to Christians of different sects, but also to the Jews, the Mahometans, and the heathens, in order that all nations residing in Russia, may glorify Almighty God in their different languages, according to the law and the rite of their ancestors, *blessing the reign of the Russian monarchs*, and imploring the Creator of the universe *to increase the prosperity and the power of the empire*.

that it should be reversed in the full Senate. The bills of exchange which had led to the sale by auction of an estate belonging to his father, were declared illegal, because they had been given to courtesans, and the person who had bought this estate at the auction was deprived of it without any indemnification.

The Czar is President of the Council for the Empire, but his vote is not only reckoned as two when there is a division, but it avails even against the majority, however great that may be. The will of the Council has no effect except it be unanimous. It is sufficient for one member to express an opinion, at variance with the other, for the Emperor to give it the preponderance. "There is no evil without a compensation," say the Russians, who find an apology for every abuse; and whenever the majority is in error, the Emperor does well to decide against it; but when he desires to favour a courtier, or to punish an adversary, he has

no difficulty in finding at least one voice, to express the opinion which he desires to prevail.

"There is no law in Russia," says Puschkin; "the law is nailed to a stake, and that stake wears a crown." The Russian lawyers have no idea of justice, and magistrates do not believe in the sanctity of the law. There are as many laws as there may be particular cases, whence the Russian legislation is as elastic as the conscience of a jesuist. There are no laws in Russia: there are only ordinances, ukases, emanating from the caprice of the master, or dictated by isolated circumstances, and such decrees do not merit the name of laws, save when they have the force of such*. Law has a moral and reasonable basis; it flows from acknowledged

* The Empress, Catherine II., having convoked Deputies to proceed to draw up a code of laws, one of them inquired if there would be any ukases, and being answered in the affirmative, exclaimed, that "In that case there was nothing to be done," and immediately returned to his own province.

facts, which frequently recur, from ascertained wants, and is the expression of indisputable utility; ordinances, on the contrary, are only the inspirations of an isolated will, of a transitory want, real, or imaginary. Confiscation of property was abolished by Catherine, but it has been re-established by Nicholas, in consequence of the Polish revolution. Emigration was tolerated on condition of a certain payment to Government; Nicholas has caused it to be assimilated to high treason, in consequence of a Polish subject going to settle in Switzerland. Two charters, those of Michael Romanof and of Catherine II., permitted the nobles to reside in foreign countries; Nicholas, from antipathy to liberal ideas, limits their residence abroad to five years, imposes a tax on their passports, and submits the delivery of them to all kinds of difficulty.

The Russian Government is perfectly aware that the unworthy proceedings in

which it takes pleasure, cannot subsist except under the shelter of the grossest ignorance and the deepest immorality: and, accordingly, the main secret of its policy is to brutalize and demoralize the people. It is wholly ignorant of the dignity of man, which it makes to consist in a blind obedience to its decrees, and whoever has a sense of his individual worth is considered by it, as a rebel. It desires to command despotically and to be servilely obeyed. M. Kukolnick brought out a play, called "The Hand of the Most High," which was replete with classic Czarism. The delighted Czar sent for him; the poet, who had a brother implicated in the revolt of 1825, trembled when he appeared before the Sovereign, who inquired the cause of his fear, and encouraged him by saying, "It is an every day occurrence, that of two brothers, one is base and the other honest." M. Polevoï who ventured to find fault with this famous play was arrested at Moscow, torn

from his family, dragged to St. Petersburg, and escorted by a gen-d'armes in a courier's car, and this shock had so great an effect upon him, that the liberal author was transformed into a fulsome parasite of the Court. On this occasion, some verses of the following purport were made.—

"The Hand of the Most High" has accomplished three prodigies,—it has saved the country, elevated Kukolnick, and ruined Polevoï.

No body in Russia dares to differ in opinion from the Emperor, even on the most trifling subject; on a question of art, or of literature. When he has once given his opinion nothing remains but to accede to it or to remain silent. I one day asked a journalist if he would give a review of the History of M. Buturlin, Adjutant-General to the Emperor? he answered with much simplicity, "I have not got two heads upon my shoulders."

The Russian Government is a military

government: strong and resolute, but brutal and precipitate, ignorant and cruel. The forms, which are otherwise observed, are superfluous, and would, in fact, be ridiculous the moment they seemed only to mask its cruelty. The politeness of M. Douvelt had made him the buffoon of the secret police, and the Emperor whenever he wishes to be polite puts a constraint upon himself: like the sea and like Mirabeau, a handsome man is never so handsome as when he is angry.

Under the reign of the sabre and the mustachio, the peaceful citizen feels ill at ease. Talent is out of place where brutal force prevails; while the latter, though blushing at itself, fears, hates, despises, and persecutes it. Civilization cannot be regulated by beat of drum; this noise is hateful, and it shuns it, withdraws in despair, and pines away in melancholy inactivity. "Persecution," says a German proverb, "is the fate of talent in Russia." Persecution

might be endured, and talent might consider it as a crown of laurels whenever its power is thus acknowledged and honoured; but when barbarism sways the sceptre, it affects contempt for talent, as a futile object and the source of deception, rather than as a means of success. It encourages only those who amuse it, and, at the most, endures him who gives it no umbrage.

In Russia, the term "learned man," is equivalent to an odd man, a poor devil, a sort of labourer;—a professor is on a par with domestics; a literary man, one who has mistaken his vocation. If an artist is welcomed and received, it is for the most part with an excess of enthusiasm or indifference which exceeds the limits of propriety. The singer loses his voice in Russia; the artist can paint only soldiers or portraits; an architect of genius cannot get one plan adopted which does not resemble some edifice already known. The Emperor effaced a portrait by Krüger, because he

found eight buttons to his uniform instead of nine, and sent it back to the artist at Berlin! Count Benkendorf would not permit a celebrated painter to set out for Italy. "What would you do there with the peasants?" said he; to which the artist, being closely pushed, replied, "And what have I to do here with servants?" The President of the Academy of Fine Arts invited M. B—— to go and study the style of an obscure artist at Dusseldorf; to which the other answered, "There is nothing in common between us; he drinks water, and I drink wine." Another Russian painter presented some pictures for churches, which had been ordered, and the Emperor not only would not receive them, but had him expelled from the Academy, which did not afterwards dare to give him much employment as a drawing-master.

M. Petscherin, one of the most distinguished pupils of the Institution of Professors, went to Naples after having completed

his course of study at Berlin. The Secretary of the Russian Legation at Naples had the imprudence to write a letter by the post to a friend at St. Petersburg, telling him that he had just become acquainted with Petscherin, a man of talent, but a violent republican. The letter was of course opened and read at the post-office, and orders were given instanter to place M. Petscherin under the inspection of the secret police. On his return to fill a Philological Chair at Moscow, he perceived a spy attending his lecture. Indignant at such a proceeding, he asked leave of absence to go abroad, and went to settle in Switzerland. M. Strogonof, the Curator of the University of Moscow, wrote to him, inviting him to return, and promising to forget what was past. M. Petscherin replied, that he knew the fate which awaited him in Russia; that he should have gold and decorations lavished upon him; but that to such a condition, he preferred poverty and inde-

pendence. His melancholy forebodings were more than realized. His relatives quickly abandoned him; his father, who held the rank of General, had already refused him any support, from the moment when he would not be prevailed upon to embrace the military career. His profound and various knowledge failed to furnish him with means of subsistence; he made an unsuccessful attempt upon his life; and at length shut himself up in a Belgian monastery, where he now languishes. May peace follow him there, and may his name be branded on the forehead of the Russian Government!

The countenance of the Sovereign, and long continued public services, far from securing a man against arrogance, only expose him the more. "Is it your decorations that make you so proud?" said the Emperor one day to one of his Generals; "it was I who gave them to you, and I will take them away." "You cannot make your Cadets

march," said the Grand Duke Michael to General Sch* *, and made the veteran place himself in the ranks, and march with the standard-bearers. Very recently, in 1843, the Emperor having entered the tent of the Prince of Oldenburg during the exercise of the troops, and perceiving on the carpet a spot of oil, which there had not been time to remove, wrote in the order of the day, "I thank the Prince of ——— for his uncleanliness," which induced the Master of the Horse to tender his resignation. The Prince, though he retired from the service, could not overcome his taste for the Court, and asked the Emperor for permission to retain the carriage and livery of the Court. Nicholas replied, that he had not expected such meanness in the Prince of ———.

It is difficult to decide whether brutality and despotism exceed the baseness and servility of the Russian courtiers; as they mutually support each other, they are necessa-

rily equal, and deserve to be equally contemned.

It is considered a mark of particular favour if the Emperor condescends to address any of his subjects in the second person singular; and his confidants imitate their Sovereign in speaking to their subordinates, who do not venture to use the same familiarity.

Can we be astonished after all this that a Minister should with impunity, and with his own hand, strike a postmaster? Everybody in Russia has done the same, more or less, in the course of his life; but it was for the heads to set the example.

A general aid-de-camp to the Emperor was very near proceeding to similar acts of violence towards a postmaster in Germany, who, however, cooled his courage by threatening to treat him in the same manner.

All the evil committed in Russia is laid to the charge of the Emperor. This is

a necessary result of an absolute Government; good or bad, example is always contagious when it comes from an august personage; but, it is no less true that, where the good is not executed in consequence of the negligence of the functionaries, cruel orders and injudicious measures may often be indefinitively deferred. "Abuses," said an ingenuous man, "are the salvation of Russia; it is very common for unreasonable orders to be disobeyed."

The friends of justice and of the country, frequently excuse every abuse that is committed, by the want of superior men. Such men have, however, never been lacking to great sovereigns. Peter I. knew how to find in the streets a Menschikof, to raise a Schafirof, to employ a Dolgorucky, to distinguish a Scheremeteff, to honour a Golovine.

Catherine had a Potemkin, an Orlof, a Rumanzoff, and a Suwarof. Genius and

talent crowd round a throne which gives them distinction, but they shun that which does not appreciate them. It would not be very difficult for Nicholas to find men of talent, if he knew how to make use of them. But they avoid the service, and bury themselves in their estates, or spend their leisure in foreign countries, because they are men who require honourable treatment, and will participate only in meritorious actions. The German party is all-powerful in Russia, and if the Baltic Provinces are in the proportion of three to fifty, with respect to the Russian governments, the functionaries of German origin, who surround the Government, are, with respect to the Russians, in the inverse ratio of fifty to three. They fill the great dignities of the empire; the parts of ministers, ambassadors, generals, and superior officers, are given in preference to Germans. When Peter conquered the German Provinces, he little thought that he was subjecting his

own country to them. If he was fond of foreigners, it was not those with whom he peopled Siberia. The Germans, more civilized than the natives, conquered Russia, while they suffered themselves to be conquered. This same circumstance has taken place in China with the Mongols, in Italy with the barbarians, in Greece with the Romans. The savage conquerors impose their yoke on civilized people, only to submit in their turn to be vanquished. But here policy has done more than civilization. The secret of the success of the Germans is not their intellect; the Russian has a hundred times as much as the Finn, and the education of the Russians, though less varied, is not less solid than that of the Germans. The latter owe their success to their characteristic perseverance, and this is accounted for by the state of destitution which nails them to their post, a species of capacity which is admirably expressed by the German word *sitzfleisch*.

The secret of the systematic preference which the Government, calling itself Russian, gives to the Germans, is the confidence which it has in them; for, animated by a devotion to the throne, which is proof against every trial, they feel only indifference for the country, and hatred or contempt for the people. "I do not serve Russia," said a foreigner of distinction; "I serve my master, Alexander Paulowitsch." Hence we may readily understand the hatred which the Russians bear the Germans. "Make me a German," said Yermalof, to the Emperor Alexander, who offered him the choice of a favour. "Your *Tschinn?*" says an actor in a play. "German," he replied. "Before thinking of entering a civil or military service, one thinks of becoming a German," said a father to his son, and, when the latter returned to his country with all his German erudition, he everywhere found the doors closed against him. And why

was this? Because the virtue indispensable to success under the Government was not possessed by him—it is an inheritance dependant on the blood, and not on the intellect.

The throne of Russia is open to both sexes, but the males have precedence of the females, and the elder sons of the younger. At the death of the Emperor, the sceptre descends to his eldest son, or if he dies without male heirs, to a younger brother, and so on, till the entire extinction of the male branches, after which the empire falls to the female line, nearest to the last Czar. The husband of the Empress enjoys the rights belonging to the wives of the Emperors, except the title of Imperial Majesty.

If the Crown should fall, by inheritance, to a Princess who is sovereign in another country, she would have to choose between the two thrones and the two religions, if

she professed one different from that of Russia. The reigning Sovereigns can profess no other than the Greek religion.

The issue of the marriage of the Imperial family, and an individual not belonging to any reigning house, cannot ascend the throne.

No heir to the Crown is at liberty formally to renounce it.

The Sovereign has attained his majority at the age of sixteen. The minor who is called to the throne is under a tutor and a governor, which offices may be held by one individual, or by two different persons. The choice of them belongs to the Emperor, who may nominate them in his lifetime.

If not otherwise provided for, these functions belong of right to the father or the mother of the young Sovereign, and in default of these, to the uncle. The Regent must be assisted by a council of six persons of his own appointment. The members of

the Imperial family may be admitted to it, but they are not an integral part of it.

The arms of the empire of Russia are a black eagle with two heads and three crowns, on a field of gold, holding a golden sceptre in the right claw, and a globe in the left. The shield bears the arms of Moscow; St. George on a white charger, piercing the dragon with his spear*. The right wing of the eagle is adorned with three shields, emblazoned with the arms of the three kingdoms of Casan, Astracan, and Siberia, and on the left wing are those of Poland, Taurida, and Finland. On the breast of the bird hangs the chain of the order of St. Andrew.

The Empress receives 600,000 rubles a year, besides what is requisite for the maintenance of her household. She has this

* This is a false and arbitrary imitation of the primitive arms of Moscow, which represent only the Czar himself, for whom St. George has been gratuitously substituted.

sum so long as the Emperor lives; after the death of her husband, she enjoys this income while she resides in Russia, but if she quits the country she has only the half.

The heir presumptive, besides the maintenance of his household, receives 200,000 rubles a year; his wife 150,000 rubles during the life of her husband, and double if she becomes a widow. Their children have 50,000 rubles each, till their majority, or their marriage. His daughters and grand-daughters receive a million rubles as their portion; the great grand-daughters 300,000 rubles, and the more remote descendant 100,000 rubles each, &c.

Chapter VII.

ON THE RUSSIAN POLICY.

The corner-stone of the Russian empire, of its power, its riches, and of its policy, is Peter the Great. He is met with at every step, and everywhere he is sublime and admirable. While, with one hand, he dispersed the Swedish fleet on the Baltic, with vessels which he had created out of nothing, and, having conquered at Pultowa, erected upon impenetrable morasses, a marvellous city, he indicated with the other hand the road to Calcutta, founded settlements on the Caspian and the Black Seas, the currents of which, ever since, have borne the

Russian ships direct to the walls of Byzantium. He failed, indeed, at Khiva, and was reduced by the Treaty of the Pruth, whither he had been led by the pride of victory, to raze Azov, which he had just before taken from the Turks; but he conquered an entire province from Persia, and covered the Caucausus with a network of fortresses so placed as to check the incursions of its hordes of banditti. Standing with a firm foot in Europe, on the ruins of the Swedish power, he opened in Asia a vast field of material and moral conquest to Russia, and advanced the first step towards universal empire. His successors followed his policy, but it was too gigantic and too much beyond their measure, and therefore, to this day, as in the time of Peter the Great, Russia is still two steps from Constantinople and Calcutta, those main points of universal empire, those roads which lead to the tomb or to conquest; two steps, for-

midable to take, and which, perhaps, Russia never will achieve.

It has obtained some conquests by arms; diplomacy has undermined the ground which separates Russia from the Mediterranean and the Pacific Ocean, but it has hitherto wanted the power to spring this immense mine. Having once entered on this course of conquest, Russia can hardly go back; it is a rapid declivity which it is now more easy to descend than to reascend. To conquer or die, has hitherto been the only alternative of conquering Powers, and all those which have aspired to universal empire have failed, when they had reached only half their course. Will Russia be an exception to this general rule?

Considerable progress, it is true, has been made on the road pointed out by Peter the Great. Poland no longer separates Russia from Europe; Turkey, stripped of several parts of its territory, is no better

than a corpse; and, with some military talent, the occupation of Constantinople might be easily effected. Persia is subject to the will of the Russians; the Caucasus, which still mocks at their power, so blindly expended in that country, is not an insurmountable obstacle. Khiva and Bochara feel the Muscovite influence, so that when Russia moves, Asia trembles, India is agitated, and London in consternation. It is to the East that all the great questions of policy converge; there, once more the fate of the world must be decided. Petersburg cannot remain the capital of Russia; it is an advanced camp, the founder of which never intended to make it a permanent residence. Constantinople or Calcutta, these are the natural capitals of empire. The Colossus is checked in its steppes, without sea, and extends its arms towards the ocean. Will it ever reach it? If Russia invaded the East, Germany would remain plunged in its lethargic slumber. France

could do nothing without England, and would besides have only to chose between the possession of Asia by the English or by the Russians. England and Russia therefore may divide the world between them. The first seriously threatened in India would easily leave the second to establish itself in the Bosphorus; but then Austria would claim her share; France would oppose her *veto*, and, if she were indemnified by the cession of Egypt, it would be necessary to cede Poland to Germany, which would be an exchange altogether to the advantage of Russia.

Hitherto the Court of St. Petersburg has endeavoured to sever France from England, through mean and personal views. It succeeded for a moment; but having no mind to attach itself to France, its work has come to nothing. It may find occupation for France, and lull or intimidate Germany; but England is always awake, and the genius of Peter the Great is not inherited

by his descendants. All these questions are therefore adjourned, and Russia would have done better if she had suffered them to lie dormant till the advent of the man who shall be able to solve them at once. The unchangeableness which distinguishes the Russian policy is rather adverse than favourable to it; by directing the general attention to it, secresy and surprise, which are the first conditions of success in politics, are rendered impossible.

The danger is, nevertheless, considered great and urgent. In fact, if Russia were once established in India, the political balance would be destroyed; the conquests which she makes in Asia are advantages gained over Europe. Without doubt Asia ought not to be tributary to Europe, and we must earnestly desire to hasten the subjection of barbarism to civilization. Without doubt Asia would gain by the conquest of Russia; but what then would be the fate of the world—what the fate

of liberty? Slavery, and, above all, military slavery! As long as Russia shall serve under this banner, the friends of liberty cannot wish her success in her warlike undertakings. The day when she shall sway the sceptre of the universe, the liberties of the world will be at an end. Even then there might be glorious wars, for their object would be independence; but the issue would be fatal to their noble cause. Even after having triumphed abroad, Russia will succumb at home. It is not with the evil which ferments in her bosom, and which, though latent and dormant, is nevertheless terrible, that she can venture to hazard new conquests. Her noblest conquests are at home. There she may increase her population tenfold, civilize and enrich it. Under the effect of a great internal shock her parts will become dislocated, and the conquered nations would avenge themselves by cruel reprisals. Whereas, after having triumphed over intestine dangers, after

having solved the questions of internal life, she will be able, with less apprehension, to brave external dangers. The part which Russia is destined to act in Asia is secured to her by the power of circumstances, even by her geographical position alone: it is noble, it is great and sublime; but in order to accomplish it conformably to the laws of equity and perfectibility, she must herself have progressed in the course of civilization, that she may not by new conquets, commit acts of spoliation on her masters in knowledge and liberty.

Such is the ideal, and it is always encouraging to have such a vast horizon before you, even though you never reach the bounds; but it is not the reality;—this is gloomy and humiliating.

In this point of view, Constantinople and Calcutta are but chimeras, and Warsaw is the chain of the galley slave which binds Russia to a volcano, ever on the eve of an eruption. Constantinople is to her what

Alexandria is to France, and Rome to Austria. As for Calcutta, its occupation exists only in the imagination of English agents, who would veil their own intrigues by disquieting public opinion with the projects of an empire which is vain enough to suffer such reports to gain credit, and unwise enough not to contradict them.

In order to reach Calcutta, the Russians, to whom heat alone is an invincible enemy, would have to traverse countries unknown and unhealthy, and to combat warlike nations, who have often withstood very formidable attacks. For such an enterprise, which demands more wealth than they now possess, they would have to sacrifice entire armies. They want money, the very sinews of war, and will long want it. Even supposing that Russia could conquer India, what advantage would she derive from it at this moment? Her manufactures and her commerce are absolutely null; the first cannot even supply the wants of the country,

and the second is in its infancy: and it is notorious that it is manufactures and commerce alone that render the possession of India important to England.

Europe, then, may turn her eyes from Calcutta, for it is evident that there can be no ground for serious alarm in that quarter. To seek Russia on that side, renders one liable to miss seeing her in other quarters where she more nearly threatens the future condition of the world. When politicians ascribe to Russia a systematic tendency towards the Pacific Ocean, and admirable perseverance in overcoming the obstacles which separate her from it, they do more honour to her policy than it deserves. I ask no other proofs of this than the unhappy end of M. Witkewitsch. England imagined for a long time that at Cabool and Lahore he had acted conformably with his instructions, and yet, on his return from the East, after an audience of Count Nesselrode, he blew out his brains. The

Minister had told him that he should be compelled to set him aside for a certain time, and assuredly he did not add, that it was to please England, or at least to lull its suspicions, otherwise the young officer would not have shot himself. The Government took much pains to conceal this event, and the remains of Witkewitsch were disposed of like those of a private.

Thanks to the vigilance of Europe the project of occupying Constantinople, if not wholly abandoned, is at least adjourned *sine die*, and we even saw Nicholas, in 1833, support the power of the Sultan, which he could not destroy, at the moment when it threatened to crumble to pieces under the attacks of Ibrahim. Did he desire to attach to himself by gratitude, those whom he could only half conquer by force of arms, or did he fear to see the Ottoman Empire consolidated under the sceptre of the Pacha of Egypt, and thus enabled to brave his power? But the gratitude of the

Turks is by no means equal to their inveterate hatred of the Russians; it will never stifle the voice of their well-understood interest, and the ancient policy which would leave an enemy to ruin himself by intestine discord, is still the best.

As for the foreign influence, which it might have been wished to annul in Turkey, if it sufficed to prevent Russian interference, it will be able to render ephemeral any alliance between the two Emperors. However this may be, the chivalaresque proceeding of Nicholas ended only in a sterile manœuvre, and in a Protectorate, which, at the best, is only illusory. It was not otherwise in 1840. At the moment when the Russian troops were about to enter Syria to support the decisions of the Allies with regard to Mehemet Ali, England, jealous of all Russian intervention, had rendered it unnecessary by her splendid successes at sea.

It is an evident fact, that since the com-

mencement of the reign of Nicholas, Russian policy has become weaker and weaker. It never was more unpopular, or more discredited in public opinion, that arbitress of our age, whose power is continually increasing. It is detested in Germany, abhorred in Italy, ruined in Greece, exiled from Spain, mute in France. The anti-social principle, and its hatred of enlightenment, undermine its strength and future prosperity. It destroys itself by its tendency to absolutism, and by its haughty language, which its power by no means justifies, and the vanity of which is now fully understood. Reduced to the friendship to Austria which, though uneasy at her encroachments, unites with her, on account of the dangers which threaten absolutism in both empires; looked upon with dislike even in Prussia, she maintains her ground in Germany only, by the alliances which exist between the Courts: family alliances which are always ephemeral. She is as unpopular

among the Sclavonian nations as Austria is welcome; they prefer the Austrian to the Russian Government, and the conformity of religion and language is not calculated to overcome the repugnance with which the latter inspires them. Nicholas, by carrying the misfortunes of Poland to the utmost, has alienated all hearts from Russia, and has thus created a formidable support to the cause of liberty, which will not fail to bear its fruit.

The dignity and the resolution of Russian policy are lauded, and indeed, it would be surprising if its language were not explicit and decisive, with a nation of 60,000,000 men, bent under the yoke of absolute power, supported by a numerous army, which may be recruited *ad infinitum*, without exciting any serious opposition, seated on a soil which tempts nobody, for nobody desires to conquer snow and sand; not constrained in its movements by national control, the Russian Government, which

knows the warlike temper of its people, which has issued victorious from so many struggles, and little disposed to endure any compromise with the enemy, cannot and ought not to suffer itself to be intimidated by any menace, and is able to menace in its turn. But what gives true dignity and real force to a political system is its object, its tendency, and in this respect Russia has not always been free from reproach. As for its means, she does not invariably prefer the most moral, and her perfidy passes improperly for ability.

Her diplomatists have the reputation of being able men, thanks to traditional qualities which they acquire in the long course of service, and which consist in an habitual craft, a kind of coin which wears away with every dupe. Russian diplomacy is certainly that which has most contributed to injure its cause, for none any longer believe its necessity, and all dislike its proceedings. It is difficult to conceive the

little kindness which the Russian legations manifest towards their fellow countrymen, and, it is affirmed, that it is in order to disgust them with visiting foreign countries that they refuse to show them the least complaisance. One is repairing his apartments, another his fortune, and they cannot give *fêtes;* a third announces his intention of giving one, only when he foresees the death of some great person, which will oblige him to countermand his invitations. A fourth says, to whoever will hear him, that his relations with the Court at which he resides, are too precarious for him to venture on asking it for the slightest courtesy. Arrogance is the general rule of all, and politeness only an exception.

Chapter VIII.

ON THE RUSSIAN POLICE.

I first became acquainted with the police of St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1840. I had made an excursion to the baths at Reval, and returned by a steamer which goes to Sweden; we were therefore detained at Cronstadt for two tedious hours, before all the absurd formalities to which foreigners are subject on entering Russia were completed. On our arrival at St. Petersburg, while we were at dinner, a barrier was put up to prevent our leaving the boat till the coming of the officer whose business it was to distribute the passports.

Notwithstanding the difficulties and the accidents of the voyage, we were punctually at the rendezvous; but the officer was not. There is a Russian proverb which says, "Seven men must not wait for one;" and we were at least seventy, many of whom were rather higher in office and rank than the police officer, not to speak of other distinctions, which are held in less estimation in Russia. His arrival was the signal of our deliverance; he was immediately assailed by the most urgent, who availed themselves of their titles, and were, of course, attended to before the rest. Prince T——, a gentleman of the chamber, obtained his passport first of all, and then the whole of his suite. The officer indeed made some objection to the latter; but the Prince persisting, he called Lafleur and Frontin before the other passengers. Then came a tailor, begging the officer not to make a countryman wait; the officer was a Finnlander, and the tailor a Jew. I was

more inclined to laugh than to be angry at this scene, when an incident forced me to become an actor, instead of a mere looker-on. M. R., the councillor of state, came up to me, and entreated me to procure his passport for him, as he was attending upon his wife, who had been confined to her bed during the whole voyage, in consequence of an operation which she had undergone at Reval. I did not doubt that such serious reasons would enable me to obtain the desired favour for Madame and M. R——; and accordingly I approached the officer, hat in hand, and as he spoke French, which generally passes in Russia as an indication of some education, I calculated upon meeting with a courteous reception.

"Sir," said I, "would you have the great complaisance to give me the passport of Madame R—? She is very ill, and it will therefore take some time to convey her to her residence."

"Sir," replied he cavalierly; "your lady may wait."

Being thus disappointed, I replied that this was consulting his own ease. Immediately the other passengers, especially the ladies, who were present at this scene, expressed their regret, and the interest which they felt for the invalid lady. One word led to another, and one of the ladies observed, "We have now been waiting four hours;" upon which the officer exclaimed, "It is not true that you have been waiting four hours."

I lost patience at this impertinence, and exclaimed, "Nobody spoke to you, Sir."

"What does that mean?"

"That means that you have no right to mix in conversations that do not concern you."

"Who are you?"

I mentioned my name.

"Where do you serve?"

"Where you do not serve."

"I forbid you to go away without my permission."

Foreseeing that this permission would be delayed, I went away immediately; and on the following day was invited to wait on the chief of the police, Major-General Kakoschkin.

"Sir," said he; "your first step on *your return from abroad* has been characterized by a want of respect to the officers of the Government."

"I have been only to Reval," I replied, overturning by this one word the whole edifice of incendiary ideas which are supposed to be imbibed in foreign countries.

"Your permit mentions Helsingfors."

"Even if I had gone there, General, I should not have gone beyond the limits of the Russian empire."

"No matter whence you come, you ought to respect the functionaries."

"I assure you, General, that I am never wanting in respect towards those who merit it."

"And what did you say when you were asked where you served?"

"This question was perfectly superfluous; your officer had our passports in his hand, and might therefore have known precisely where I served; besides, I only answered what was quite correct; for, in truth, I do not serve where he serves."

"Do not you think that that is very offensive?"

"I have always thought, your Excellency, that every kind of service was equally honourable; but the manner in which we acquit ourselves in it imparts to it its dignity; and, if your officer has complained of my words because he took them for a reproach respecting the manner in which he performed his duty, I will not be so impolite as to contradict him on this point. Will you allow me to explain what passed between us?"

"I will not hear any excuse."

"You have, however, received his complaint."

"Yes; and I shall not show it to you."

"But I may have reasons for complaint on my side."

"Complaint? I desire, then, that you lay it before me in twenty-four hours."

"I can do it sooner." And I was about to withdraw when he cried—

"Where are you going?"

"What is your pleasure, General?"

"Go about your business."

Just as I was opening the door, he called out to the clerks in the chancery that they were not to draw up any kind of complaint for me.

Some hours afterwards I was visited by two of these gentlemen, who offered me their services on condition that I should not betray them.

I delivered to them a statement which I had drawn up; I paid one of them, and thought it unnecessary to give anything to

the other; but as I held out my hand, he imagined that it contained a fee, and almost tore off the skin as if he expected to find a bank note beneath it. I afterwards met with one of these officials, who told me, with a most mysterious air, that M. Kakoschkin had required the Governor-General to have me put under the surveillance of the police. I thought that this man wished to fleece me anew, and thanked him for the interest which he testified for me. I, however, never learnt the result, or indeed heard anything more of the matter.

On another occasion, at the fête of Catherinenhof, where everybody is allowed to smoke, just as I was lighting my cigar, a police-officer, half drunk, came up to me, apparently in the act of striking me on the fingers, and said, "How do you dare to smoke in a place where the Imperial family intend to walk?" An officer of the guards, who was with me, saved me the trouble of being angry, for he warmly took my part;

but he could not discover the name of the officer, who observed a prudent silence.

One evening, as I was quitting the French theatre, and drew near towards the door, a cold wind met me, and accordingly I put on my hat just at the entrance of the corridor. The police-officer who was on the spot said, "Sir, you put on your hat too soon."

Another time my pelisse was stolen at a private residence. The master of the house immediately sent his servant to the police-office, where he was detained several hours, waiting for the return of the commissary. On the following day, the servant was again dispatched, and brought me the following answer: "Tell your master, that since he did not think fit to wait for me yesterday, I am not inclined to make any inquiries." I must confess that a suspicion afterwards crossed my mind that the servant himself might have been the thief, and, in that case, would naturally have invented the proceedings at the police-office.

One day, when I related a number of these petty vexations to a public officer, he answered, that I had really been unlucky, for that nothing of the kind had ever happened to himself. It is possible, in fact, that being destined to unveil the infamies of the Russian Government, it may have been the will of fate to make me know them by personal experience; but to prove that others are not exempt from similar annoyances, I will mention the following facts, which have come to my knowledge, among a thousand others.

The young Prince V * * * had kept a French mistress, on whom he had settled an annuity after his marriage. This lady subsequently resided in the street of Vonessenkaia, in St. Petersburg, and had the misfortune to please the police officer of that quarter. His assiduities having been rejected, his anger was excited, and he persisted in persecuting this unfortunate lady. The wretch bribed the grocer at the corner

of the street, the porter of the house, and her own maid, to act as spies. The servant soon after was afflicted with sores on her body, in consequence of a malady brought on by a dissolute life. The police officer immediately informed against her mistress for having beaten her so severely as to inflict wounds. He obtained an order to arrest her, and presented himself to his victim, offering her two ways to escape persecution: either to yield to his wishes, or to pay 10,000 rubles, and, as she indignantly rejected this base proposal, he had her seized in her bed, and carried in her sheets to the police office, where she was entered on the list of prisoners. She wrote many letters to Count Benkendorf, who, however, was not in the habit of reading those which were addressed to him. She languished in a filthy dungeon, where she remained, till at length her maid, who was a serf in the government of Twer, impelled by remorse, went and confessed the whole

to her lord, who succeeded in obtaining the deliverance of the innocent lady, but without procuring the punishment of the guilty.

A young man, on his wedding-day, hired some diamonds for his bride which were stolen during the night. He waited on the commissary of police, who, after having heard his complaint, opened his desk and showed him the jewels. The young man hastened to take them. "There are 6000 rubles to pay," said the commissary. The poor young man observed that, as he lived on his salary, he could not procure such a sum; upon which the commissary quietly locked the drawer which contained the diamonds. The bridegroom immediately hastened to General Kakoschkin, and gave him the particulars of what had just transpired.

"I have no such officers," said the chief of the police; and dismissed him with a haughty air.

A man took a robber in the very act, and brought him to the police office. "Oh, that is an old acquaintance," said the commissary, and let him go.

A certain physician had attended the family of the commissary of the first district of St. Petersburg. The latter, on asking him how he could recompense him for his attendance, the physician replied, "If you would do me a great pleasure, give me the watch that is hanging up against the wall." It was, in fact, the very watch which had been stolen from him some time previous, and had since remained in the hands of the police.

Prince M * * * gave notice to the police that he had been robbed of his cloak. Some days afterwards an officer came to inform him that all his endeavours to find his cloak had been fruitless. The prince went out with him into the antechamber, and actually saw the man put on his own cloak. He was amazed, but did not

make any remark to the obliging police officer, for it is this name by which the catchpoles are designated in Russia. General Kakoschkin, in particular, takes pleasure in so designating them even in the Russian language. He was desirous of obtaining for them the right of wearing epaulettes, but the Emperor has had the good sense to refuse it.

Count Benkendorf once lost 1000 rubles in bank assignats, and immediately acquainted the police of it. General Kakoschkin instantly had them recovered; but, lo and behold, the count's valet de chambre, on brushing his clothes, found the sum in the lining of his great coat! The money was restored to General Kakoschkin, but he was not removed from his office; on the contrary, he had reason to be grateful to the minister, who rendered him an important service on the following occasion:—

M. Perowsky, Minister of the Interior, being desirous to regulate the sale of

provisions, caused the journal of a butcher at St. Petersburg to be seized; in this ledger there was a daily entry of the quantities of meat which he delivered gratis to the police officers. The minister denounced this abuse to the Emperor, who instructed Count Benkendorf to institute an inquiry, but recommended him at the same time to screen his favourite aid-de-camp, Kakoschkin, in case he should be found to be too deeply implicated. The fatal book was soon brought to M. Perowsky, with the request that he would put his seal upon it, a formality which he had omitted. This being done, it was found that the butcher had not given anything to the police, for, of course, the book in question had been exchanged for another, perfectly similar, with the omission of the items to the police, and thus the affair dropped.

A person who was travelling in one of the carriages on the Paulowsky Railway,

had his pocket picked. On arriving at Petersburg he lodged his complaint in the faithful hands of a police officer; I say faithful, because they never give up what they have once taken. The officer required witnesses, asking whether any one had seen the thief in the act of stealing. "I did," replied an old man. "And who are you?" demanded the officer. "M. ——, Privy Councillor of State." "I beg your Excellency's pardon." "What is there to pardon? insolence is your trade."

M. Roidofnikin, head of the Asiatic department, was put into the guard-house for having crossed a parade; when the police were about to enter his name in in the book, he mentioned his titles. "Why did you not speak before?" said the Commissary. "You did not ask me anything," he replied; and was immediately dismissed with all the respect due to his rank.

A veteran officer one day mentioned in company at St. Petersburg, that it was

an error to suppose that duelling was prohibited in Russia; for that he once had the misfortune to kill an officer in his regiment without having been called to account for it. Walls have ears in this country, and his words were soon reported to the police, than they secured him who had uttered them, and then commenced a search for the person whom he affirmed that he had killed. They soon discovered an individual of the same name who had served in the army, but had afterwards entered a civil employment. A colonel of gens-d'armes waited on him.

"Your name is ——?" said he.

"At your service."

"You were acquainted with, or are acquainted with M. ——?"

"We were of the same regiment, but as I was an officer and he an ensign, we were but slightly acquainted with each other."

"Can you tell me, Sir, how you pass your day?"

"Nothing is more easy. I pass my days as I pass the weeks, months, and years. I go daily to my desk at the post-office, every Saturday to the baths, and every Sunday to mass."

"Would you be so obliging as to undress before me?"

"Why so, if you please?"

"I cannot tell you, but I must positively see you undressed."

"I am a particularly modest man, Sir, and you will really oblige me by not insisting upon so extraordinary a demand."

"I am extremely sorry, Sir, but it must be; I dare not take a refusal."

"Well, if it must be, it must; but I can only think of one expedient: you must come on Saturday to the bath, and then your curiosity may be satisfied, whatever strange motive gives rise to it."

The Colonel was punctual to the rendezvous, and after having examined the body of the ex-officer, he told him that his an-

cient comrade had boasted of having killed him, and the police thought that he might at least have wounded him, and had directed him to ascertain the truth. He was delighted at being able to report to his superiors, that there was no foundation for the assertion.

General D. formed a *liaison* with a French actress, who had previously been acquainted with a young man, who owed her three thousand rubles. She requested the General to obtain this sum for her. Her former lover was in fact arrested at the fair of Nischneinovogrod, without in the least suspecting the cause, and was brought by gens-d'arms in a post carriage to St. Petersburg, where General D. ordered him to pay the debt in twenty-four hours, which he was obliged to do with the best grace he could.

M. Michalowsky, an advocate at the tribunal of Warsaw, had been implicated in the Polish revolution, and the third section of the chancery of the Emperor—such is

the official name of the secret police in Russia—gave orders to arrest him and convey him to Viatka, where he was to pass two years in exile. In his stead, another M. Michalowsky, a notary of Wilna, was arrested and sent to Viatka. When he arrived there, he protested, and the error was acknowledged, but he was nevertheless compelled to atone for the fault of another, and to suffer the penalty incurred by his namesake for the whole term, because Count Benkendorf would never confess his mistake to the Emperor, and preferred to let an innocent man bear the punishment.

This is by no means an isolated fact of the kind, and puts me in mind of another which happened during the reign of Paul I. That emperor was absolutely resolved that a certain criminal should be brought before him, whom the Governor-General of St. Petersburg could not possibly discover. Being unable to make his master forget the matter, and dreading his anger, Count

Pahlen caused a poor German to be arrested, just as he was coming from his own country, and utterly unsuspicious of evil, appeared at the barrier of the capital. His nostrils were slit, he received the knout, and was sent to Siberia.

The Emperor Alexander caused justice to be done him, and indemnified him, at his request, by granting him liberty to import German files, duty free, into Russia.

The expulsion of M. Kalergi likewise does little honour to the Russian Government. It is this Government which, by its agents, has sowed discords in Greece, in the hope that that kingdom would thereby fall into its hands; it alone excited the late revolution, thinking that, after the expulsion of the reigning family, Greece would be obliged to place herself under the protection of Russia; and when the movement produced a totally different effect from that which it expected, and gave a constitution

to Greece, the Russian Government wished to clear itself of the part which it had taken, by ordering the brother of the Greek General to quit the empire. "If you insist that I should tell you wherefore you are sent away," said Count Benkendorf, "it is because the Emperor thinks the conduct of your brother unworthy towards himself and unworthy towards his king."

"Your Excellency," replied M. Kalergi, "I do not allow anybody the right to call my brother's conduct unworthy. A man who has served his country twenty years, who was covered with wounds, who has been a prisoner among the Turks, where his ears were cut off, cannot be other than an honourable man."

"Sir," replied Count Benkendorf, "after using such language, you have only to pack up your things, and set out at once."

King Otho on being informed of the manœuvre, cried, "I do not comprehend why the Emperor interferes in my affairs; M.

Kalergi is my Adjutant-General, and besides this, my best friend."

M. J * * *, at a supper in Florence, on Easter eve, was so imprudent as to take out his watch and say, "At this hour"—it was midnight—"the tricoloured flag floats on the walls of the Kremlin, and a new conspiracy has triumphed!" His own uncle informed against him to Count Benkendorf. On reaching Vienna, M. J * * * was sent to St. Petersburg, and there gave the names of innocent persons, as having taken a part in the plot, which had no existence, save in his own imagination. The Government became convinced that all his depositions were fictions, yet, nevertheless, summoned the persons whom he had designated. One of them, M. R * *, was torn by gens-d'armes from his quiet retreat on his estate; another, M. F * *, was summoned from Naples, and having proved that he had never known M. J * *, was told that he might go back again. M. J * * himself,

after having passed six months in the dungeons of Schlusselburg, was sent in the garb of a felon to Viatka. His uncle had been ordered to make a domiciliary visit to the residence of his own sister, the mother of the young man, and while he was conversing with her in the drawing-room, his agents forced open the bureau in the adjoining apartment; but they found only papers which were perfectly harmless. This *excellent* relative then presented himself at Court, to receive the reward of all his villanies; but not content with the remuneration given him for having *unmasked his monster of a nephew,* he quitted the service, and having returned to his native country published a book against Russia, which caused some sensation at the time. This is what may be expected from those zealous servants who regard neither good faith, family ties, nor country, and in whom, nevertheless, the Russian Government is so infatuated as to place its confidence. The

family of M. J * *, indignant at the treatment which they had received, and fearful of further persecution, sold their estates in Russia, and quitted the country.

A Russian nobleman, Count K * *, who was living in retirement on his estate at Pskow, having gone to St. Petersburg to present himself at Court, was overwhelmed with astonishment at being reprimanded by the Czar, for some words which he had spoken when no person except his son was present. After his return home one of his friends was entering on a political conversation, when he instantly imposed silence upon him, telling him to distrust his son who was in the room.

The secret police of Russia has its ramifications both among the upper and the lower classes of society. Nay, many ladies notoriously act as spies, and are yet received in society and have company at home; even men who are stigmatized with the same reputation, are not the worse treated

on that account, and bear their disgrace with a kind of haughty dignity. There is not a single regiment of the guard which has not several spies; in the theatres, and especially in the French theatre, there are often a larger number of spies than of mere spectators. In short, there are so many spies that people imagine they see them everywhere, an apprehension which admirably serves the turn of the Government.

As it is impossible to be on one's guard against everybody, those persons who are not inclined to be suspicious, soon lose all their terror, and confounding spies with men of honour, suffer themselves to be drawn into confidential conversations, which often prove very dangerous to them; the majority, on the contrary, distrusting everybody, feel themselves shackled, and are so reserved in their intercourse, that it is impossible to conceive any conversation more insipid than that which is carried on in the drawing-rooms of St. Petersburg.

Private correspondence bears the same stamp, in consequence of the precaution taken by the Goverment. The post-office has a secret department, whose special business it is to open letters; those of suspected persons are always opened, as well as the greater part of those coming from abroad. Of the remainder about a tenth part are opened.

Spies are divided into several classes. Some receive salaries, others act in consequence of agreements, or in expectation of the liberality of the Government. Some, again, are mere complaisant parasites, or gossips, of whose services the Government is glad to avail itself; while others are inflammatory agents, who fill a more or less distinguished position in society. The following is the portrait of one of them. He is a councillor of state, the father of a family, and a man of large fortune. At the time when the Polish revolution had just broken out, he had an evening party, to

which he invited several inexperienced young men. As it was his trade to sound public opinion, he of course turned the conversation into this channel; greatly blamed the Russian Government, saying that its conduct to the Poles could not be characterized, and uttered these words in a manner which was calculated to catch somebody in his net. M. B * * *, Secretary of State, indignant at such conduct, went boldly up to him, and, addressing him in a loud voice, said, "Pray, Sir, will you, who are an authority in the Russian language, be so good as to tell me how to translate the French words, '*Agent provacateur?*'"

There are spies in uniform; these are the gens-d'armes: spies in disguise; these are the police officers: fashionable spies; travelling spies, who reside abroad, or are sent on special missions: certain functionaries are spies ex-officio. For instance; the governors of provinces are bound to make periodical reports respecting those persons

who are under surveillance, or who deserve to be so; and ambassadors have the superintendence over their countrymen. The following fact will fully explain this truth:

In the year 1826, after the revolt at St. Petersburg, orders were sent to the ministers residing at foreign courts to watch the conduct and political opinions of their countrymen, and to send reports for the information of the Government. Count St. * * *, the Russian Ambassador at Naples, immediately wrote that one of the persons attached to his legation kept company with the most violent carbonari in the city. This same gentleman had just registered the instructions which his chief had received, when the latter advised him to depart for St. Petersburg immediately. It is easy to conceive the misgivings of the poor secretary; at Vienna, M. Tatistschef consoled him as well as he could, but his terror increased when he reached the Russian frontier. It was night; tremblingly he

awoke the officer, who instantly began to turn over the leaves of a large book, constantly repeating his name, which he had just asked, and every repetition of which made the secretary tremble. At last he ventured to say, "What book is that which you are examining so carefully?" "Sir," replied the officer, "it is such a book that whoever is inscribed in it is not permitted either to go out or come in. I do not find your name in it." He was thankful enough to be delivered from this first danger, but his mind was not completely relieved till he saw Count Nesselrode, who allowed that his superior had been too suspicious, and gave him a post at Constantinople.

That part of the Russian legislation, the execution of which is especially intrusted to the police, contains regulations too curious not to be reported. Here we may dispense with all comments, and confine ourselves to copying a few extracts at random

from Vol. XIV. of the Swod. The sixteenth article is as follows:—

"Drunkenness is prohibited to each and to all." Art. 219 directs that, "Whoever passes more time in the course of a year in a state of drunkenness than in a state of sobriety, shall be confined in a house of correction till he amends." Art. 227 prescribes a fine equivalent to half a day's support in the house of correction on any man who shall enter a public bath for the women, and on any woman who shall enter a public bath for the men. Those who may be unable to pay the fine are obliged to heat the stoves in the house of correction.

Women who have contracted diseases by a dissolute course of life are taken into the hospital, and when cured, are sent back to their homes. The wives of soldiers are delivered to their husbands, who are obliged to sign a written engagement to restrain

them in future; and the wives of serfs are sent to their lords, who are called upon to pay the expenses of cure, and in case they refuse to do so, the women are sent to Siberia.

The 3rd Article is in the following terms:—"All ought to be respectful at church, and enter with devotion and without constraint."

The 7th Article orders people to stop before the holy images, as decorum and the sanctity of the place require.

The 8th Article commands the "worshippers not to talk during divine service, nor to change their seats, or disturb the attention of the faithful by any word, action, or gesture, but to deport themselves with humility, silence, and respect."

Article 13 directs that "even those shall be sent before the tribunal, who merely go to church by constraint, whatever may be their rank."

Article 24 says "Every orthodox person

is to confess and to receive the Sacrament at least once a year, after the age of seven years."

Articles 33 and 34 are intended to efface the remains of idolatry and of Pagan traditions.

Articles 35 and 36 prohibit false predictions and necromancy.

Article 46 is of the following tenor:—"Persons born in the orthodox religion, and those who are converted to it, are prohibited from embracing another religion, even though it be Christian." Those who commit this crime are brought to trial: their orthodox serfs are placed under guardianship, and they cannot reside on their own estates.

CHAPTER IX.

NICHOLAS I.

WHEN we visit the gallery of the portraits of the Romanoffs, the eye dwells with pleasure on the manly and national features of Peter I., whose defects were those of his country and his age, and whose intellectual qualities were those of genius. Further on we rejoice to trace them in Anna I., whose vices we pardon for the sake of her uncle, even if we do not attribute them to her unworthy courtier, the Kourlander Biren; but all resemblance to the Great Czar is lost in Peter III., and the Russian asks, "Whence did he come?" He gazes upon these fea-

tures, and this air, and they appear to him to be those of a German, and he mutters the name of Holstein Gottolf! His mouth will never accommodate itself to this dissonance; the Russian will never familiarize himself with the idea that he is governed by Germans. Great care is taken not to disclose to him that his Sovereigns are of foreign origin, and every thing is done to preserve the beloved and revered name of the Romanoffs. The word *nemetz*, German, is odious to the Russian; its signification is *dumb*, and it was formerly the general appellation which designated all foreigners, even him who called himself the Sclavonian, or *l'homme de la parole**.

But to return to our gallery; after all, Peter III. is the grandson of Peter I., and the Russian bears an affection without limit

* This antipathy of the Russians to the Germans, is participated by the Poles, who have a proverb, "As long as light shall be light, the Pole will not be the brother of the German."

and without end to his Czars, their grandsons, and their great grandsons. But since what time does a mother transmit the name of her ancestors to her children, and why are the Holstein Gottolfs, Romanoffs?

Let us pass over Peter III.; after him comes his wife Catherine II., and the Russian, remembering that he owes to her the Crimea and Lithuania, conceives a friendship for this powerful woman, whom he endows with his favorite name of *matuschka,* mother. But at the sight of Paul I. he is petrified. These features do not touch his heart, they are not those of Catherine, nor of Peter III., still less are they those of the Romanoffs. The infirmity of the chief of the Holstein branch is well known, and the order given by the Senate to Catherine, to admit Soltikow to the Imperial bed, was a cruel order, if that nobleman resembled her son. How could the Senate commit such a blunder as to make an offer like this to a woman who was so good a judge as Cathe-

rine! What a singular sport of nature! Paul exactly resembled a Finnlander of Strelna, and his red hair, his pug nose, and his proverbial obstinacy gave rise to more than a suspicion of some strange substitution. The Senate ordered that Catherine should have a son, but what, if she had only a daughter, and that daughter still-born? The need which the country had of an heir to the throne, the ambition of Catherine to retain power, the proximity of the orphan house, where there are so many children of Finnland, give ground for suppositions which may be realities, and we are tempted to believe that the child of some honest Finn was substituted for a still-born daughter of the Empress; for, once more, why this pug nose and this red hair, and above all, whence the invincible hatred of Catherine to her son Paul?

Puschkin delighted to represent the nationality of the reigning family in a very eccentric manner; he took a goblet and

poured into it a glass of pure red wine in honour of Peter I., whose Russian origin could not be disputed, and added a glass of water for the father of Peter III.; here he ought to have stopped, and to have turned the goblet upside down, but, faithful to the principles of the Russian Government, which makes the Gottolfs pass for Romanoffs, he poured out another glass of water in honour of Catherine II., a Princess of Anhalt. This time he should, perhaps, have added a glass of wine, but fearing to compromise himself, he proceeded and poured a fourth glass of water for Maria Feodorovna, the mother of Nicholas I.; then a fifth for the reigning Empress, by which time the liquor was so faintly tinged with red, that he raised a general laugh by asking the company to decide whether it was wine or water, and whether, by comparison, the present Czars were Russians or Germans?

Maria Feodorovna, the wife of Paul, a

Princess of Wurtemburg, was as much distinguished for her personal beauty and mental qualifications, as Paul was for his deficiency in both these respects. The children of this marriage were Alexander, who inherited the personal beauty as well as the mind of his mother; Constantine, who was an exact counterpart of his father, ugly in person and wayward in disposition; Nicholas, who can boast only of personal beauty; and lastly, Michael, who is neither very good nor very handsome.

Next to her usurpation, which was a crime, according the words of Nicholas himself, who was astonished that she should be called Great, after her licentiousness, history must reproach Catherine II. with the bad education which she gave her children. She detested Paul, as a son unworthy of her, and could not reconcile herself to the idea that he was to succeed her on the throne; she consequently neglected his education, which, added to his extrava-

gant character, was the cause of his violent death. Catherine devoted all her care to her grandson Alexander; but his education was too alien to the manners of his country and to the genius of his nation. He always wanted courage to carry into effect what his mind had recognized to be just and useful. Equally weak and good, equally crafty and liberal, he could only scatter among the people germs of liberty which his successor has delighted in destroying or eradicating.

Struck with the troubles which his brother had bequeathed to him, Nicholas imagined that, in order to reign well, it would suffice to act in every case the opposite part which Alexander would have taken; to persecute liberty to the utmost, to endeavour to be as national as his predecessor had been foreign, as orthodox as the other had been catholic. Thus he disappointed the hopes and the expectations which he had given on his accession to the throne, in his

several manifestoes, wherein he proclaimed that his reign should be in all respects the continuation and counterpart of his lamented brother's.

The education of Nicholas was as deficient as that of his other brothers, who were not destined to the throne*.

During the whole of Alexander's reign, he did not rise above the rank of General of Division, and he contracted in that post a narrowness of mind, and a predilection for the military service which he has since carried to a ridiculous excess. He is so ignorant that he writes *mné* (to me) without an

* The Grand Duke Constantine could not write two words in Russian, although he wrote French tolerably well. I have heard that a student of Moscow was sent into banishment because, in a collection of autographs which he had formed, there was one of the Grand Duke Michael, which was signed "Benevolent Michael," *Benevolent*, in Russia, with an accent. It is notorious that most of the Russian ministers cannot write their language correctly, and they have not all the excuse of knowing too many foreign languages, which is the case of the Princes of the Imperial family.

accent, which is equivalent to writing Nicholas in French without an *s*; and his despotism is such, that no statesman has hitherto dared to tell him of this fault in spelling which he so frequently commits. It is astonishing that no Russian author has yet taken it into his head to abolish that unhappy letter, were it only to pay his court to the Sovereign.

The favourite and daily reading of Nicholas is the *Abeille du Nord*, the most insignificant journal that ever was published in the two hemispheres. His Majesty, nevertheless, takes pleasure in it, and writes remarks in pencil on the margin. On one of these papers, which are all carefully deposited in the Hermitage, we read that the names of the tribunals of the governments of districts, &c., ought to be printed in large capitals!

The ship of the line called "Russia," is an overwhelming proof of the despotism of Nicholas. On visiting the vessel while on the

stocks, he thought that there was not sufficient room to walk about, and accordingly commanded the space to be enlarged; even enforcing his opinion against that of competent judges. By consequence, this vessel is the very worst sailer in the whole Russian navy, and is very seldom employed.

When he takes it into his head to command the movement of a ship, which he does almost every time he goes to sea, the captain of the vessel takes care always to keep behind him, in order, by counter signals, to prevent the strict execution of his Majesty's orders, which would inevitably lead to the loss of the ship and its august passenger.

His cannon shot at Shumla is the parody of Napoleon at Montereau. An artillery officer thought that the mark was too distant—but Nicholas ordered him to fire, and the ball fell short.

The campaign in Turkey has imposed silence on the courtiers, who had always made

it a point to endeavour to extol the military talents of Nicholas. We must do him the justice to say, that he has since had the good sense to relinquish making war, and to confine himself to presiding at reviews. It is impossible for any man to command with more grace and elegance of manner; his voice rises above every other; and it would be difficult to exercise the troops better than he does. He is admired for his quick-sightedness—for the facility with which he distinguishes, even in the most distant ranks, the slightest defect in the dress of a soldier or an officer; not a button or a buckle escapes his vigilance. This is a talent possessed by all the Imperial Family; and, on observing his penetrating look, philanthropists have often said with a sigh, that if this capacity had been applied to objects more important, more worthy of the attention of a Sovereign, the country would have derived valuable advantages from it.

"Stand firmly," said Nicholas, one day, to General Muravief, before the whole diplomatic body, who were present at the review at Schlusselburg, "I am going to beat you."

"Sire," replied the intrepid warrior, "I have never been beaten in war."

The general in fact beat his Majesty completely, and Nicholas never forgave him.

"What do you think of my disbanded men?" asked he, when he came to review his corps.

"Sire," replied Muravief, with too much frankness, "you should have seen them a fortnight ago, when they arrived from their homes; they then looked like a troop of beggars."

The Emperor revenged himself cruelly. On the following day, when he saw the corps commanded by Muravief approach, he said to him, "Your corps has the appearance of a troop of beggars." The brave general

quitted the service, and the country suffered doubly by not having in Nicholas I. a Frederick II.

What, in fact, are these soldiers (*Licencies*) but one of the most unhappy conceptions that can be imagined; the truth may not be spoken at all times, and every fact must not be revealed; but when the country suffers in consequence, it cannot be proclaimed too loudly.

The Emperor has reduced the active service of the soldier from twenty-five to twenty-two years in the regiments of the Line; and from twenty-two to fifteen years in the Guards; and during the remainder of the time, the soldiers are liable to be called out, are obliged to attend the reviews every year, and, in case of war, to return to their standards; but the principal thing has been overlooked, namely, to provide for their support. Having ceased to be good villagers when they entered the service, they cease to be good soldiers when

they quit it: useless to the army, they become a burden to their districts; and finding it difficult to procure a livelihood, they excite trouble and discontent in the rural population. The landowners fear them, the peasants reject them, and the Government has thus created a class of dangerous and warlike petty landholders, instead of well-disciplined soldiers.

A quality which is most generally allowed to Nicholas, is that strength of character which it is affirmed he manifested in a high degree on the very day of his accession to the throne. But it appears, nevertheless, that he with difficulty could be persuaded to shew himself to the insurgents, and it is certain that before leaving the palace he prayed to God with fervour. Was this piety, or was it fear? He is deemed quite enough of a dissembler to display the one and to conceal the other. In the square itself he was observed to be pale and trembling, while his satellites cried

"All is lost," at the moment when all was going on as well as possible. The insurgents having no military chief, remained inactive the whole day, and Nicholas did not take courage till the evening, when twelve pieces of cannon were brought against 1300 men; whereas, there were more than 13,000 faithful troops!! The insurgents were fired upon at a distance of a hundred paces. The guns were then turned upon the people along the street of the galleys and the quays. A woman who was at this moment looking out of her window, had her head carried off by a cannon-ball. "What a melancholy commencement of a reign," exclaimed Nicholas, on his return to the palace. His former tutor, Baron D——, one day asked him how he had acquired so much firmness, as he had always known him to be so weak. "My crown was at stake," he answered, "and it was well worth while for me to appear courageous." "I only did my duty," said

he to the Marquis Custine, in a strange fit of modesty.

An official journal has related, that meeting in the palace a company of the insurgent grenadiers, who did not return his salutation, Nicholas told them that they had mistaken their way, and that they had better go and join the mutineers in Isaac-square. The courtiers go further, and say that he had commanded the service of the guards in the palace, had made them point their muskets at him, had confronted their looks, and had made them lay down their arms.

When the rebellion was at length quashed, and the soldiers of the regiment of Moscow led the prisoners away, bound and handcuffed, the Grand Duke Michael appeared for the first time on that day, and reproached them in the coarsest terms; one of them having kept on his cap, received a blow in his face by the fist of his Imperial Highness*.

* The soldier who was an eye-witness of this scene

After the victory, Nicholas exercised clemency; the penal commission had condemned the principal conspirators to be quartered: the Czar commuted their punishment for that of the gallows. The gallows was then unknown in Russia, and the honour of introducing it was reserved to Nicholas. No hangman was to be found in the empire, and one was accordingly obtained from Sweden. In the course of the executions the ropes broke, and three of the sufferers fell to the ground, still alive. A messenger was instantly despatched to Nicholas to inquire what steps were to be taken. "Hang them again*!"

related it to me on his death-bed, manifesting the indignation of a true soldier, not to say of a real gentleman.

* The King of Denmark displayed more humanity on a somewhat similar occasion, having stopped the punishment of a criminal just as he had laid his head on the scaffold; he afterwards found that he had well deserved death, but he nevertheless pardoned him, in consideration of the terrors which he had already endured.

was his laconic answer. Muravief remounted his horse, saying in French, "*Dans se f—— pays on ne sais seulement pas pendre un homme!*" Ryléiéf said that, having been an officer, he ought to have been shot.

After all these executions, a poet wrote an immortal stanza: "He had scarcely mounted the throne when he showed his character; he erected five gallows, and sent an hundred people into exile!"

Ryléiéf, the Russian Chénier, was among those who were hanged; the flower of the Russian nobility was cut down without mercy; and what did the conspirators aim at? A constitution; which Alexander himself had ardently desired, and when giving one to Poland, had expressed his deep regret at not being able to do the same for his own country. Who knows, perhaps there were among the conspirators men who engaged in the plot only to pay their court to their Sovereign?

The ex-Ambassador Markopff was on his death-bed when his nephew came to relate the details of the revolt, and ended his recital by saying, "At length it is just as in France!" "You mistake," replied his uncle; "*there* cobblers would fain be princes: *here* princes would be cobblers!" If this were not a reproach, it might be a commendation.

One day the Emperor sent for one of his generals; he was quite beside himself. "Have you any knowledge of this pamphlet?" inquired he eagerly, giving him the draught of a constitution for Russia, which had just been discovered among the papers of Constantine.

"No, Sire," replied the general; "and your Majesty, can you have yourself been ignorant of it?"

"Could I otherwise have judged the conspirators of the 14th, as I did," cried the Emperor, quite bewildered; "tell me, who drew it up?"

The general could only give him the name of the person who copied it,—Prince B* * *.

The fate of the victims of a noble illusion, of those whom the Russians themselves designate only by the name of *unfortunate*, was not alleviated in consequence of this discovery. The happy events which took place in the circle of the Imperial family, and enterprises which had need of divine aid, led, however, to some amelioration of their condition. Thus, on the delaration of war against Turkey, Nicholas, as he came out of the church of Casen, ordered Count Benkendorf to release from their chains the persons condemned for the part they had acted in 1826. But at the expiration of the time for which they were condemed to hard labour, the Count wished to assign them the principal towns of Siberia for their residence, "in order," he said, "that they might be the more easily watched." "What!" cried Nicholas, "would you let

them enjoy their lives, in the great centre of the population?" and, taking a map of Siberia, he marked with his own hand the most desert and the most remote part of that dreary country, as the places where they should reside. Accordingly all those unfortunate men suffered even more by the treatment in the colonies than by their hard labour, which in itself was not severe, and moreover, at least afforded them the comfort of living together.

It is true, that on the first complaint against the person who had the care of the prisoners at Nertschink, and who had received them in his dressing-gown, and said, "What have you been plotting? you will soon be cured of your turbulent humours here;" Nicholas cashiered him, and put in his place General Leparsky, a good and enlightened man, formerly colonel of the regiment of chasseurs on horseback, which bore his name, and with whom the exiles had every reason to be satisfied.

We will here mention another fact, which does honour to Nicholas. Prince Obolensky, one of the conspirators, was his personal enemy; he had answered every question in French, and even went so far as to address him by no other title than that of *Monsieur*. The Commission, to please the Emperor, condemned the Prince to death; Nicholas struck out his name, saying, "It is a meanness!"

But the colonel of a regiment of Moscow, with whom Nicholas had had some differences in the service, was worse treated than the others, and had the smallest share of the rare and restricted favours of his former colonel.

"What has your Emperor done to you?" said Nicholas, to one of the conspirators, when he did them the honour to examine them himself; "We had not an Emperor," they replied; "we have had two, one was your brother, and the other Arakhtschcief;" and as he continued in this strain, the Grand

Duke Michael, who was present, exclaimed, "That man should have his mouth stopped with a bayonet." "You inquired just now," said the accused, "why we wanted a constitution; it is that such things may not be said."

His first success emboldened Nicholas, and rendered him still more intractable. He also proceeded with more resolution on less important occasions.

At the time of the revolt, during the cholera, he drove in an open carriage to the Haymarket, in St. Petersburg. When he arrived there, he told an assemblage of the populace to pray to God; and they took off their caps. He told them to fall upon their knees; and they did so. Accordingly the Emperor has been represented on this memorable occasion in water colours and in oil; but it is forgotten that he addressed the assemblage in these words: "Are you Frenchmen?" Neither is it said that the avenues were guarded by the military.

At Novgorod he appeared accompanied only by Orloff, and armed merely with a sword among the revolted colonists, and made them return to order by an energetic oath. "An oath," says the Russian, "is butter to the gruel, salt to the sauce, and on that day the Holstein was equal to a Romanoff." But the executions which followed this insurrection, equalled in cruelty the excesses which had been committed by the insurgents. If the colonists flayed some of their officers alive, there were some among them who received as many as 12,000 stripes with the rod.

One day, as Nicholas was exercising the troops, a storm arose; the Emperor turned pale, drew his hat over his eyes, and raised his voice:—*Ne svoï brat ne schoutit,* said the soldiers maliciously, which may be translated by these words: "He who is on high is not one of us, there is no joking with Him."

Obstinacy and cruelty cannot be called

strength of character: a man of a really strong mind, and who is conscious of his strength, is naturally mild; Nicholas was as weak as he was cruel before he became Emperor. He tore off the mustachios and whiskers of the soldiers of his brigade, and trembled in the ante-chamber of Alexander, not daring either to go forward or to enter; he and Michael pushed each other, each attempting to make the other go first into the Emperor's cabinet.

A soldier of the engineers was condemned to run the gauntlet. Nicholas, who was then a colonel of engineers, wrote down a greater number of blows than the man was sentenced to receive, upon which M. P * * * *, his aid-de-camp, observed that it was useless to make any alteration in the sentence, for it was very uncertain whether the unfortunate culprit would not die under the infliction, without any addition. Nicholas yielded to this argument, but what most astonished his aid-de-camp was, that he

spoke of the matter as something totally indifferent. Nero wept when signing a sentence of death.

We must attribute to a want of knowledge, as much as to a want of energy, the failure of the laudable plans which Nicholas has conceived since his accession to the throne. He was anxious to abolish the *tschinns*, to give publicity to the proceedings of the tribunals, and he recoiled at the bare word advocates, whom it would have been necessary to appoint. It is more through ignorance than through fear of the nobility that he suffers the project for the emancipation of the serfs to remain a dead letter.

Nicholas, annoyed at his German origin, does his best to pass for a Russian; thus he often calls the Empress by the name of Baba (a peasant's wife). One day, as she was going with him to the barracks of the Prosbrajensky regiment, he said to the soldiers, "I think this is the first time since

Elizabeth, that a *Baba* Czarine visits the barracks."

He has the pretension not only to equal, but to surpass Peter the Great. He would appear more national than Peter, and retain the usages which he had violently proscribed. "I have seen you with a beard," he observed to a merchant, "why have you shaved it? we ought not to abandon the customs of our forefathers." Then, by a strange contradiction he issued a ukase in 1837, forbidding the civil officers to wear mustachios, or beards, in the *Jewish or French fashion*. He aimed at wit, and forgot that, while Peter shaved the beard of barbarism, Nicholas shaves that of civilization. On the other hand, the mustachio was ordered for the whole army*.

The Emperor returning from a journey, came home with a slight mustachio. The Empress complimented him on this innova-

* Till that time it had been worn only by the Light Cavalry.

tion, and expressed a wish that he would retain it; to please her, he caused it to be adopted in the army. "I have opposed it," said the Grand Duke Michael, "but since the the Emperor positively wishes it, I will let my mustachios grow an ell in length;" and he kept his word, and set the example to the courtiers.

What can be more national than the head dress *à la jeune France*, which was likewise called *à la Moujik;* but it was sufficient that it was adopted at Paris and the Court, for Nicholas to turn it to ridicule. One day, meeting with M. Jakovlef wearing his hair and dress in the French fashion, the Emperor signed him to approach; ordered him to get into his carriage, and drove him to the palace, where he presented him to the Empress. "I present to you," said he, "the most elegant man in my empire!" Then turning to the young man, he cried: "You may go!" and, after having scratched his face, he ordered him

to go and be shaved. This anecdote was circulated a long time by the courtiers, as an instance of the Emperor's humour, but when they saw that their hearers shrugged their shoulders, they attempted to deny it, when it was too late.

In imitation of the Czar, a lady of rank one day sent for a French hairdresser at St. Petersburg. He was introduced into the drawing-room, and the mistress of the house presenting him to the company, said, "See, ladies and gentlemen, this is a *coiffeur à la moujik.*" The hairdresser who related this circumstance to me, added, that he was tempted to show them something else, but that he had been deterred by the example of his comrade at Moscow, who was mercilessly flogged by the servants of a Russian prince, before whom he had ventured to appear without a great-coat at the moment when his Excellency and his lady had entered the shop.

Nicholas was less fortunate with Count

Samoilof; his wig, which had lately arrived from Paris, greatly displeased him, and he caused him to be represented on the stage of Moscow. The Count requested the actor to call upon him, complimented him on his talent, and presented him with three diamond buttons, with the proceeds of which he purchased a house in the suburbs of the city.

Next to Peter the Great, Napoleon is the hero whom Nicholas wishes to resemble, and if he does not succeed, it is assuredly not for want of good will. In default of great victories, he imitates him in certain peculiarities of manner. A soldier in the Caucasus having blown up a fort which was on the point of being taken by the Circassians, the Emperor ordered that the name of the brave man should be called over in his regiment, and that a grenadier should answer in his stead, "Dead for the glory of the Russian arms!" We will not here institute any parallel, out of respect

for the great man; we will select one fact from the life of Buonaparte. An author wrote a virulent pamphlet against him; Napoleon gave him epaulettes, saying, "Use your sword for me, as you have used your pen against me." Compared with this, behold Nicholas going about at twilight to examine the booksellers' stalls, to see whether he can find the *Memoires d'un Maître d'Armes,* by Alexander Dumas; and when he sees them in the hands of the Prince of Darmstadt, who had lately arrived at St. Petersburg, exclaiming, "Know, that prohibited books are not to be read in my dominions!"

Another time he saw *Paroles d'un Croyant,* in the hands of the heir to the crown, and finding that it came from Bellizard's library, he caused him to be prosecuted. The man escaped by paying a heavy fine, but the words, "Bookseller to the Court" disappeared from his shop.

Civilisation is the mortal enemy of Ni-

cholas, and liberty is the bugbear; hence, France, which represents both, is the unvarying object of his animosity. The relations of that country with Russia, which were so friendly during the restoration, have become much estranged since the revolution. On the accession of Louis-Philippe, Nicholas exclaimed, that "he would rather have one of Napoleon's soldiers on the throne." When the news of the July revolution reached St. Petersburg, Nicholas addressed the French Ambassador in these words, "Your Bourbons are ninnies: they have got themselves driven from France for the third time." Then, shutting himself up with Prince Lieven, he dictated to him an order to all Russians to quit Paris in twenty-four hours; and another, forbidding vessels bearing the tri-coloured flag to enter the Russian ports. A fortnight after, the Minister of Finance represented to him that commerce was impeded in consequence of this prohibition; "Well, then, let it be

withdrawn," said he, with perfect coolness. His conduct towards Louis-Philippe has always been brutal: that of Louis-Philippe on the other hand has been distinguished by courtesy, and has invariably been delicate and obliging. Everybody knows the haughty reply of the Czar to the affectionate letter in which Louis-Philippe informed him of his accession to the throne. Subsequently he withdrew his Ambassador, and sent a mere Chargé d'Affaires in his stead. It has been said that this was only a measure of economy, and that the same had been done with respect to England and Austria. But Messieurs Brunow and Medem are Ministers Plenipotentiary, and Mr. Kisselef is merely a Chargé d'Affaires. "France," said the Emperor, "is not a Power worthy to have one of my Ambassadors."

Who has suffered by this measure? In the first place, the Russians, who are now no longer represented in France as they ought to be; and whence does such pre-

sumption arise? "I am able," said Nicholas to Pahlen, when he appointed him to the post of Ambassador to Paris, "I am able to support you by 100,000, or if necessary, by 200,000 bayonets." Now, these two numbers are too small to give so much title to arrogance. "Louis-Philippe," said Nicholas one day, "cannot do without Guizot and Thiers." "What would you have, Sire?" replied the Minister; "one is his right hand, and the other his left." "Judging by the way in which matters go on in France," replied the Emperor, "it would appear that the King of the French has two left hands."

"We are indebted for the July revolution to civilization," said Count Benkendorf to the Emperor, during their tour in Finnland. "I begin to perceive," replied the Emperor, "that we must oppose barriers to civilization; a well-informed man will not like to obey an ignorant chief." Instead of civilizing the chiefs, he would brutalize everybody! God will not permit such a crime.

"Liberty is a very fine thing," said Nicholas, one day after dinner, in the Anitschkin palace, where he had withdrawn into his Cabinet with some of his select friends, "but I ask you what have those gentlemen beyond the Rhine done with it?" And you yourself, Sire, what have you done for it?

He would have given anything to have broken off all connexion with France. Twenty times he resolved to make the Russians quit Paris. It is said that Count Pahlen, on receiving such an order, answered, "I am your ambassador, and not your police magistrate." If these were not the very words of the ambassador, they are such as he might have used on that occasion.

Admiral Tschitschagof having replied to an injunction to depart, that he had received permission from the Emperor Alexander to reside in France, Nicholas struck his name from the list of the members of

the Council of the Empire, on which the Admiral sent him back his diplomas, which secured him a pension of 50,000 rubles. The noble Voyard preferred living in want to obeying absurd orders.

No passports are delivered for Paris, and all the Russians who are there come clandestinely; but as forbidden fruit is always the sweetest, they resort thither in greater numbers than if the prohibition did not exist.

Persons high in office, who visit Paris, take care not to be presented at Court, and the most distinguished do not even set their foot in this city of perdition. Thus Count Woronzow, Governor-General of Odessa, on his last visit to France, did not go beyond Rouen, whither the authorities and eminent Russians repaired to pay their respects to him.

The Treaty of the 15th of July was made, according to the expression of a Russian diplomatist, only to annoy the

French Government. This whim has cost Russia much, and has availed her nothing. France has had the good sense not to be too much hurt by the ill conduct of its inimical friends, and Russia has been frustrated in her expectations of a general war against France.

Whence comes this animosity of Nicholas to the dynasty now reigning in France? The July revolution, a necessary consequence of the violation of the constitution which the allies themselves had guaranteed, and which has done great service to the cause of monarchy by maintaining the throne; and the blame of the Polish revolution lies in the Russian Government, and certainly not in France.

The cruelties of Nicholas towards the Poles make all hearts bleed. The Russians cannot desire this conquest at the price of the dishonour which these persecutions cast upon them. The Russian poet Pouschkine

exclaims, in the ardour of his patriotism, "He who falls in the struggle is sacred; we never trample under foot the enemies whom we have thrown down." If Alexander knew how to respect the rights of conquered nations, why cannot Nicholas do so? If he is not able to sway the sceptre of Poland with humanity, to organize a free and enlightened government, let him renounce it. The *order* which prevails at Warsaw is worse than the most complete anarchy. We no longer live in the age of barbarous invasion, and the *væ victis* should be erased from the law of nations. Why should brethren be made to tear their fellows to pieces? Why treat the friends of their country and of independence worse than prisoners of war,—more harshly than criminals? The Kremlin has been avenged at Prague: to go beyond is proceeding to the *auto da fé.* If the Gallic cock can do nothing for Poland but

crow, if the French eagle has only crushed her in its protecting talons, why should not Russia raise her again, after having had the glory to conquer her?

The recent persecutions of the Roman Catholics and the Jews have destroyed the only liberty which has hitherto done honour to the Russian Government—the liberty of religion. The united Greeks, (Catholics whose service is performed in Sclavonian), have been incorporated by force with the Greek Church. Mixed marriages have been subject to the obligation to bring up the children in the Greek religion, contrary to the old law, by which the sons were to be brought up in the religion of their father, and the daughters in that of their mother. Intimidation, cupidity, violence, irony, stratagem, have been employed to increase the number of proselytes to the prevailing religion in Russia. The Polish priests have not had the energy of martyrs, and those among them who are more attached to

their faith than their Government have been dismissed, and their place is filled by ecclesiastics, who were, or pretended to be, devoted to the Emperor. Is it hatred of the Roman Catholic religion, or hatred of Poland, which impels Nicholas to these atrocities? He is considered, if anything, to be indifferent to religion; in this respect he depends wholly on the Procuration of the Synod, who places all his confidence in a M. Skriptzyn, head of the department of foreign religion, and in M. Engelhart, civil governor of Mohilew, whose bitter animosity to the Roman Catholic religion is carried even to fanaticism, and has been equalled only by the hatred of Prince Khavonsky, the former governor-general to the landowners of White Russia.

The poor Jews have been subject to every kind of vexation. At Mstislavl contraband goods having been seized in their houses, the Jews committed some excesses, repulsed a company of Invalids,

wounded several of them, and recovered their goods. The Emperor ordered a tenth-part of the inhabitants to be taken for soldiers. The Jews rose, intrigued, and sacrificed considerable sums, which disposed the authorities to represent the fact as of less importance, and to screen the guilty. In order to put an end to smuggling at one blow, Nicholas caused the country to be razed to the extent of sixty wersts from the frontier, thus reducing the land to a desert, and the poor Jews were banished from their El Dorado.

Not content with this atrocious measure, and adding ridicule to cruelty, he has just commanded the Jews to assume the national costume.

Who can retrace all the persecutions to which the innocent have been exposed under this unhappy reign? Who can count all the cruel acts of Nicholas?

M. H., in a private letter which he put into the post-office, related a fact which

was current all over Petersburg, namely, that a *boutoschnik* had assassinated a merchant. He was taken at night from his bed by the side of his pregnant wife, who had a miscarriage, and he himself passed three years in banishment.

M. Jakoolef, one of the richest men in Russia, lost 100,000 rubles at *kigles*, in the English club in St. Petersburg. Orders were immediately given to transport him to Viatka, and were revoked only because his father presented 100,000 rubles to the charitable institutions, the head of which is, at the same time, by a strange inconsistency, also the head of the secret police; a police which is not equalled in China or Japan, and is the most pernicious of all institutions.

M. Kologrivof was driven away from Paris by an unworthy subterfuge, and made a private soldier in the Caucasus, for having taken part in the July revolution. "You have a taste for the army," said the Em-

peror, "go and serve me in the Caucasus." In order to draw him away from Paris, his mother had solicited his pardon; the Emperor replied that he should return on the condition only of entering the service, and this service was that of a private.

M. D. shared a similar fate, for having engaged in the Foreign Legion in Algeria, which he was impelled to do by a want of money.

A fashionable spy denounced a noble Courlander who had attended political societies at Paris, and gave him up to the Russian authorities, who banished him to Vladimir.

Bestuchef, who had rendered the name of Marlinsky famous in literature, a name which he assumed on his exile to Siberia, was sent as a private to the Caucasus, and on the day when, after having gained his epaulettes at the point of his sword, he returned to society, on that very day he was sent with some men against a corps

of Circassians ten times as numerous, who cut them all to pieces.

M. Madvinof was deprived of his office for having authorized the publication of the portrait of Bestuchef; not of Bestuchef who had been degraded for his participation in the revolt of 1825, but of Marlinsky who had regained the rank of nobility by his sword.

M. Tschedaeff was declared mad by order of his Imperial Majesty, for having ventured to write in a Moscow Review that "it was not possible to pass four-and-twenty hours in a reasonable manner in Russia, because the Russians are not Europeans; because one Czar has opened for them a frozen window towards Europe; because another has led them about at beat of drum;" and, lastly, for having added that "Russia has retarded her advance in civilization by preferring the Greek to the Roman Catholic religion." Boldoref, the censor, who had suffered this article to pass, was banished to the Monastery of

Vassilewsk, and M. Tschedaeff was subject to a daily visit from a physician, who poured a glass of cold water upon his head.

Angel, a subaltern officer, was condemned by a court-martial for some act of insubordination, and the Emperor enhanced the punishment.

A grenadier, who seemed disposed to kill his captain, who frequently struck him without reason, was condemned to run the gauntlet. The Emperor wrote with his own hand, *that the first* 1000 *blows should be given him on the head.*

Prince Sanguschko was condemned to be transported to Siberia, for having taken a part in the Polish Revolution. The Emperor added to the sentence, "*that he should perform the journey on foot.*"

Madame Gracholska went with her son to visit her husband, who had emigrated to Switzerland, and the child begged that he might stay with his father. The Emperor

caused the mother to be brought to trial on her return to Russia. The nobles of the government of Podolia made a subscription to furnish her with means to perform the journey to Siberia, whither she was sentenced. The subscription amounted to 14,000 rubles. Nicholas ordered 13,000 rubles to be kept back for the benefit of the invalids, saying that 1000 rubles was ample for the journey in the Polish campaign!

The dilatoriness of Diebitsch obtained for him, from the Prussians, the nick-name of "*I cannot so soon,*" which is a parody of his title Zabalkanski (the Transbalcanian). It appears that the cause of his indecision was his mistress, a Polish lady, who paralyzed his movements and prevented his taking advantage of his victories; unless, indeed, we regard him as the instrument of an intrigue in a high quarter. Nicholas had not the courage to dismiss him, and Diebitsch died of the cholera, or of poison,

taken either by choice or compulsion, a point which history has not yet been able to clear up. The death of Constantine followed soon after, at the very moment when he was about to become an object of constraint to his brother. His physician was not present at his death, and his place was supplied by the physician of the city, who received an order of knighthood; the governor of the province was also recompensed.

It suffices for the death of an individual to be advantageous to the Sovereign. He is immediately accused, if circumstances afford the slightest pretext for it. Princess Lovitz died just at the moment when some embarrassment arose respecting the etiquette with which she was to be received at the court of St. Petersburg. I am aware that there are obsequious servants who go beyond the will of their masters, but in truth deaths frequently happen here quite

à propos, especially if we add that of Elizabeth.

The Emperor, as we before observed, has a predilection for the military which exceeds all bounds. He imagines that a military man is fit for everything, and far better calculated than a citizen to fill a civil office. Most of his ministers have been or are still in the army. Count Cancrim himself has not escaped the folly of desiring military rank, and was made a general at his own request. By making his aid-de-camp, Count Strogonof, Minister of the Interior, the Emperor has rendered ill service to the country as well as to the count himself, who is an honest man, rather than a skilful minister. Count Pahlen was another general whom Nicholas gave a civil appointment. "Sire," said the count, "I have all my life followed the profession of arms, you call me to a difficult post." "Look at me," replied the Emperor; "had I ever anything to do with politics before I ascended the throne, yet I have

acquitted myself pretty well, as you know." In Poland, the post of Minister of Public Instruction was at first filled by General Golovine, and then by General Chipof, both of whom acquitted themselves very indifferently. The Principal of most of the universities are military men; and General Krafostrom, the Principal of Dorpat, passed at once from the command of a brigade to that of a university, thus realizing the saying of Griboiédof, "I will give you a serjeant for Voltaire." The students relate anecdotes of him, some of which are too singular to be passed over in silence here.

In the Latin examinations, whenever he caught the word *curator*, he immediately rose from his seat, thinking that he himself must be the person spoken of, and of necessity in very flattering terms, he graciously saluted the individual who had uttered the word.

"How many years have you been in the service?" said he one day to a Professor of

Gymnastics. "Two-and-twenty years," replied the other. "And have not yet obtained a professorship in the university!" exclaimed the head of that learned body, indirectly holding out a flattering prospect to the teacher of gymnastics; perfectly ignorant that a man does not become a priest by having spent his life in ringing church bells.

"All these flower-pots ought to be of equal size," said he to the celebrated Professor Ledebuhr, as they were walking together in the Botanic Garden. "How can that be," said the Professor, "without cutting the plants?" "Very well, then, have them cut."

"Let that student be struck off the list," cried he, on seeing a young man in the dress of a citizen, and wearing the university cap. "He has been already struck off," returned the beadle. "Let him be struck off a second time, then!" said the sage Principal.

"The laws have no retro-active force," objected a student, in the hope of maintaining his right. "You affirm that the laws of his Majesty have no active force? You are a rebel," cried the General, and drove the young man from his presence.

The chiefs of the police are military men, and it is notorious how rudely these gentlemen act.

"Great complaints are made of the police," said Nicholas one day to Kakoschkin, the Grand Master of the Police at Petersburg. "They are said to be too uncivil." "Sire," replied the Adjutant-General, "if they were otherwise, they would not be so vigilant." The Emperor said nothing in reply, nor did it occur to him to say that the police ought to be civil, and at the same time vigilant

As a consummation of the ridiculous, the tiara has been placed under the hussar's cap. Protassof has been created Chief Procurator to the Synod; albeit, there is

perhaps no reason to be surprised at this, since the Czar himself is the Patriarch. He makes and unmakes saints at pleasure. He has canonized Mitrophanes, to divert the people and to enrich the province of Voronesch. He added Stanislaus to the saints of the Greek church; because when it was proposed to introduce the Polish order of St. Stanislaus, the clergy observed that there was no such saint in the Russian calendar. "Very well," replied the Emperor, "then the order need not be given to the priests;" and so the affair was settled.

While speaking of Russian orders, we will say a word on that of *the Buckle,* instituted by Nicholas. It is intended as a mark of distinction for those who have served irreproachably for the period of fifteen years or more. Are the instances of serving *irreproachably* so rare in Russia, that it is necessary to distinguish an individual whose conduct has merited it?

It happened one day, in the capital of a

small German state, that the Chargé d'Affaires of France was playing at whist with the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, who wore this mark of distinction. The Frenchman begged to be informed of the meaning of this badge; and when he learnt that the number on the breast of his partner indicated the number of years he had been in the service, replied, "Well, then, you are marked like cattle." This nearly led to a duel, and the Russian was recalled for having brought contempt upon the Imperial badge.

A man who was waiting at table with the buckle attached to his button-hole, indicating twenty years' service; "This man will certainly not upset a dish upon us," said a wit, who was immediately summoned to St. Petersburg, where Count Benkendorf gave him a severe reprimand.

One thing was wanting to complete this ridiculous affair—namely, to confer this distinction upon women; and accordingly

Nicholas has not failed to do so: he has instituted the *Mark of Mary*.

The Emperor carefully conceals from his wife his little and great infidelities. The Empress has the more merit not to observe that she is deceived, or at least not to show that she sees it; although the lady in waiting, who for the moment is honoured with the good graces of the Autocrat, is frequently in attendance upon the Empress, and has not always sufficient tact to hide the preference of which she is the object.

We must do Nicholas the justice to say, that he is nevertheless pretty constant in his illicit connexion, and keeps his mistresses a long time, though he indulges in some caprices. His present favourite charms him by her wit and amiability, rather than by her beauty. These things are natural enough, and perhaps excusable, if we consider that the Emperor is still in the prime of life, and that the health of the Empress is completely shattered, so that her physi-

cians have enjoined her to keep quite apart from her husband, and this not for the purpose of pleasing the Czar*.

Nicholas is less indulgent to others than to himself; and has often proceeded with great rigour against irregularities of this kind. He compelled the General-in-Chief R * * * to marry his mistress, whom he had seen riding in a carriage bearing the General's arms; and constrained Prince S. T. to marry a young lady in waiting, whom he abandoned almost immediately.

A colonel, who was both ugly and unamiable, married a beautiful and impassioned Italian lady. The result of this ill-assorted union was such as invariably happens in like cases. This fascinating wife formed an intimacy with a young man

* "Does he who is blameless in the sight of the Czar commit a sin in the sight of God?" said M. —— to his wife, after having ascertained the fact that she was unfaithful to him, and favoured the Czar. Such laxity of morals in subjects accounts for many faults in princes.

named Souch * * *, by whom she had a son, for whom his legal father conceived a strong affection, from a strong resemblance to himself. "Heaven knows what the women of our days are made of!" said a lady of the old school, in reference to this subject, "they know not only how to deceive their husbands, but they know a vast deal more besides." The charming Italian was soon offended at the caresses which the colonel bestowed upon her son, and told him the plain truth. The colonel was beside himself, and immediately reported the case to the Emperor, who in Russia does every thing alone. A divorce was ordered; the Italian expelled from the country with her mother, and her lover thrown into prison, and excluded from the service: for the service in Russia, it must be observed, is of a mixed nature; sometimes it is inflicted as a punishment, and sometimes it is taken away from those whom it is intended to punish.

Nicholas is a good father; but is that a virtue which merits to be so lauded? Do not the most ferocious animals love their young? If the ladies consider the Emperor Nicholas a handsome man, the phrenologists, on the other hand, have no very exalted idea of his cranium, and say that it has little of the organ of causality; the physicians affirm that his skull contains water; while historians pretend that the members of the family of Holstein Gottolf lose their senses after the age of forty. But on this point, perhaps, as on many others, the fair sex alone are in the right: this much is certain, that the Emperor is a tall man, but there are hundreds of grenadiers, cuirassiers, and even cadets, who have the great honour to equal him in stature.

His eye is that of a despot, and nothing delights him more than to see people stand in awe of him. The man who looks at him with a steady eye will never be one of his

favourites: as a proof of this I will mention the following anecdote. A young *fiancé* was walking in the gardens of Alexandrovka, the Trianon of Peterhof, which is the Russian Versailles, dreaming of love and of his future bliss; he unconsciously entered into the avenues reserved to the Imperial family. Two grenadiers addressed him rudely, and desired him to retire; but the young man pointed to his uniform, which was that of the Imperial Chancery, and the soldiers, whose orders, or whose understanding, were not up to this stratagem, suffered him to pass on. Emboldened by this unexpected success, he ventured yet further. On a sudden the Emperor stood before him, and, looking at him with an air of dignity and menace, fixed his eagle eye upon him. The young man was confounded, turned pale and speechless, and his knees gave way under him. His sudden and great fear calmed the Emperor, and prevented the explosion

of his wrath; but the young man was so seriously affected by the rencontre that he became extremely ill. His affianced bride was annoyed at the consequent delay of the marriage, and as she had no inclination to wait for his recovery she actually espoused another. Her faithlessness affected the patient so deeply that he grew worse, was obliged to quit the service, and to seek in foreign countries means for the restora- of his health, and escape from the effects of his despair.

Repnin, the governor-general of Little Russia, committed great embezzlements during his administration. The remonstrance of Count Benkendorf produced such an effect on him, that decorum forbids me to speak more plainly. The news of it satisfied the Emperor, and gratified him so much, that he ordered all proceedings against the culprit to be suspended.

One of the Emperor's aides-de-camp was

dismissed for having gesticulated when speaking to him. Another was transferred from the cavalry to the infantry, from the regiment of horse-guards to that of Preobrajenski for a miserable pun, as some say, or as others have it, for having allowed himself an air of too great familiarity.

Two students who omitted to salute the Emperor were confined in the guard-house, and summoned to appear before his Majesty, to whom they declared that they had only just arrived from their Province, and had not recognized the Sovereign. The explanation appeared to him so satisfactory, that Nicholas made them dine in his palace, and the sensation throughout the city was great, that all were loud in their praises of the Emperor's conduct.

As I am above all things desirous to be impartial, and even lenient, I have often applied to the best informed persons, and to the most devoted courtiers, and requested them, as a favour, to point out to me at

least one laudable action of Nicholas, and I was ready to feel for him all the enthusiasm which noble actions can inspire. Some stammered out a few monosyllables and stopped short; and others directed my attention to the dignity of his foreign policy, and uttered some vague expressions about the elevation of his sentiments. I however met with some individuals who quoted several traits which they called *cheveleresque*. The following are among the numbers of those which I have collected.

A colonel boxed the ears of his ensign, upon which the latter drew his pistol and shot him dead on the spot. The Emperor asked whether the pistol was loaded at the moment when the insult was offered, and being answered in the affirmative, pardoned the murderer.

An officer did the same to his colonel, who had only insulted him by words. Ni-

cholas exclaimed, that his death would lie heavy on his conscience.

Another officer who had permitted a serious offence which he had received from one of his comrades to go unpunished, was excluded from the regiment by supreme authority.

These are trifling facts, and have been collected with much difficulty, while numerous others present themselves to my mind and pen, which prove that these laudable traits were only the offspring of caprice, and not founded on fixed principles.

Captains Issakof and Likatschef, of the artillery of the guards, had an altercation with a captain who had passed from the Polish into the Russian service, and one of them told him "He was a traitor." They were brought to trial, and the tribunal decided that their previous imprisonment should be accounted a sufficient punishment. The Emperor caused the tribunal

to be reprimanded, appointed a commission, and had the accused officers sent to distant fortresses as officers of the line.

A degraded nobleman in the Caucasus, while in the ranks received a blow with the fist from his serjeant, upon which he immediately thrust him through with his bayonet. He was condemned to run the gauntlet, and General Laventzof ordered all the degraded nobles, who are very numerous in the Caucasus, to be present and take a share in inflicting the punishment, thus making them act the part of executioners.

Notwithstanding all that I have said, I do not think that Nicholas is a tyrant by nature but only from conviction. He is persuaded that if he acted otherwise, public affairs could not succeed, and he is very well satisfied with the manner in which they have gone on during his reign. The habit of governing upon this principle has given him a taste for cruelty, for the habit of

tyrannizing makes man a tyrant. The Russians say that it requires an iron hand to govern Russia, but that his hand should be gloved. Nicholas has the iron hand but he has forgotten the glove.

CHAPTER X.

THE FAMILY AND COURT OF THE CZAR.

THE EMPRESS has always exercised a beneficial influence over her husband, by tempering his passion and his excesses, and there is, consequently, a great apprehension of the results, if she should die before him, which appears but too probable. It is presumed that her death will produce the same effect upon Nicholas, as the loss of his first wife did upon Ivan IV. Though she does not possess any superior qualities, the atmosphere in which she lives has not been able to efface the good principles which she imbibed at the Court of Prussia.

The Grand Duke, heir to the Throne, is not a very promising character, if we may take the word of those who are the most about him; but those who promise the most do not always perform most; and his father, by the manner in which he governs, will have greatly facilitated his task; and it will be comparatively easy for him to content a people who have been subject to so rigorous a reign. It is certain that he is of an amiable disposition, and this is much to go upon. While still a child, his father asked him how he would have treated the conspirators of the 26th of December. "I would have pardoned them," he replied. The young Czarwitsch is thought to be a great deal like his uncle Alexander, and this too is in his favour. His education has not been so brilliant as his father imagines, who, in fact, has undertaken to finish it himself, but it is to be hoped that he will not succeed in modelling him according to his own likeness.

The young GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE NICHOLOWITSCH is the phœnix of the family, for he is said to be possessed of great intellectual powers. At the conclusion of the first lesson in the Russian language which he received from M. Pletnef, the latter was about to withdraw, when the Grand Duke stopped him, saying, that he wished to go on a little longer. One day he addressed an officer of the Horse Guards, and said, "How is it that there is not a day but what I see you in a green dress, that yesterday evening you wore a red one, and now a white coat?" The officer set about explaining this transformation; to which Constantine replied, "Oh, I see! you do exactly like the clown on the stage." In his character of Admiral, he took pleasure in arresting his elder brother, who was on board his ship, for which he was himself put under arrest for a considerable time by order of his father.

The GRAND DUKE MICHAEL, the Em-

peror's brother, has a kind disposition, but a rough exterior, and has a propensity to make puns. It is affirmed that he has been seen to weep at seeing Russian soldiers slain in Poland, while his brother Constantine rubbed his hands, saying, "What do you think of my Poles?" It is not said whether Michael shed tears for the soldiers whom he sacrificed at Brailow, but it is pretended that he would not wear the order of St. George, conferred upon him for the deplorable siege of that place. He is, however, the greatest courtier in Russia; in public he is always seen bent double while speaking, with manifest veneration, to his brother. He is the first servant of the Czar. I once heard him say, with regret, at a ball, "All my colleagues have preceded me in the service." At one time, however, there was a coolness between the two brothers, after which, Michael went to Moscow or abroad, where he pretended to amuse himself excessively, and sought popularity,

not only among the nobles, but likewise among the officers. The Emperor reprimanded him severely for fraternizing with his inferiors, to which he answered, that he had not expected to be so treated by his brother and his Sovereign.

His wife, the Grand Duchess Helen, is a woman of superior understanding, which often exposes her to a degree of jealousy on the part of the Empress, which is betrayed in frequent petty domestic quarrels. On one occasion, when the Grand Duchess returned from abroad, her trunks were strictly examined at the custom-house, and although her new dresses lost something of their freshness, they, nevertheless, eclipsed all others at Court by their novelty. Let us proceed to the Ministers.

Seven cities in Greece contended for the honour of having given birth to Homer; so, four European Powers might claim the glory of having Count Nesselrode for their subject. He was born in sight of Lisbon, on

board an English ship, of German parents, in the service of Russia. As there was no Lutheran clergyman on board the vessel, the infant diplomatist was baptized according to the rites of the Church of England. He might, therefore, be claimed by Great Britain, since he was born under her flag, since the vessel of a Power is always considered as part of its territory; England, however, is rich enough in statesmen to give up one to Russia without much detriment.

His family is of Westphalian origin; the Nesselrodes are counts of the Empire, and therefore the Chancellor has always positively refused the title of Russian Count, which the Emperor has repeatedly offered him. It is not thus that Russians acted, who, like him, and long before him, were Counts of the Holy Roman Empire; the Golovines, and the Menschikofs, have never hesitated for an instant to accept the titles of their country, but Count Nesselrode is

not enough of a courtier to be national, and thinks that a title of the Holy Empire is highly preferable to an equivalent Russian title. Nevertheless, he would doubtless do violence to his feelings and accept the title of *Prince* if it were offered to him. Meantime he is waiting patiently, obtaining vast estates in the south and east of Russia, where he pays a great deal of attention to the breeding of sheep.

Count Nesselrode was first a seaman, and then a cuirassier, and an officer in the Horse Guard, but the Emperor Paul thought that he looked like a diplomatist, and accordingly transferred the count to the department of Foreign Affairs. It is well known that Paul was no physiognomist; he several times made his subjects interchange parts, transforming masters into servants, and servants into masters, from mere caprice. Having become a Diplomatist by order of the Czar, Nesselrode, like so many

others, made his fortune through the fair sex, though the woman to whom he paid his addresses, or who addressed him, was not distinguished by her beauty. For a first essay, this was a master-stroke; it was playing with the certainty of winning, and the conditions of the bargain were fixed beforehand. Countess Gurieff, daughter of the Minister of Finance, after having in vain intrigued for several good matches, where her riches were not considered a compensation for her ugliness, turned her attention, for want of doing better, to Nesselrode, who brought, by way of portion, the powers with which she undertook to invest him. His wife has ever since exercised unlimited influence over him; and no person, unless sure of her assent, can rely upon any favour from him. To please the countess, it is necessary to flatter her taste in the fine arts; she is a great admirer of pictures and busts, and does not disdain

either copies or originals. The count is short and restless, and generally wears the cross of St. Andrew on his coat, with the medal of the Turkish campaign, a very adroit mode of paying his court to the hero of Varna. He is passionately fond of cards, and people say that he has lost his heart to them, but he has lost nothing else, for his Merinos thrive admirably.

Count Nesselrode is the chief of the German party; two-thirds of the officers in the Foreign Department are Germans, Lippmann, Ostensacken, Beck, Molcke, and Fuhrmann; and Russia is represented in England by Brunnow, in France by Pahlen, in Prussia by Meyendorf, in Austria by Medem, at Stockholm by Krüdner, at Berne by another Krüdner, at Hamburgh by Struve, at Copenhagen by Nicholai, at Dresden by Schröder, and at Teheran by a second Medem. Somebody once advised Count Nesselrode to endeavour to place Russians in

official stations abroad, to which he coolly replied, "The Russians have never done any thing but make blunders." He alluded to M. Kakoschkin, who, in fact, seems to have made some gross mistakes at Turin; but what, it may be asked, has Count Nesselrode himself done? The treaty of the 15th of July,—a bravado which has become ridiculous,—and, the abandonment of our constant policy towards Turkey. "We have too much to do with Poland to attend to Turkey," say the Russian diplomatists. Our relations with France are endangered. "Such is the good pleasure of the Emperor," they reply. "The Chancellor can do nothing—our interests are often sacrificed to England—we make advances by it —Russia complains of our conduct towards her—the country above all things," say the creatures of the count. We shall see!

Count Benkendorf was a good man in the full sense of the expression, for he was

as good as he was incapable. In order to advance his own fortune, he made drawings of frigates in the Emperor Paul's album, which obtained for him the epaulettes of the aid-de-camp to the Czar. He was General of Division at the accession of Nicholas, who placed him at the head of the Secret Police, that infernal machine, the offspring of fear and insanity. Every body agrees in saying, that Count Benkendorf, in this melancholy post, did as little evil as possible, which is a pretty considerable negative merit. But an unskilful friend is worse than an intelligent enemy, and the incapacity of the count has undone many persons, whom more clear-sighted men might have saved and even made useful.

The official title of the office which Count Benkendorf held, is that of chief of the corps of gens-d'armes, which means that of chief of the spies. The Emperor has placed a superior officer of the gens-d'armes in

every provincial city, to watch over the magistrates and people. "I have thus found some valuable men," said he one day to Prince Vassiltschikof. "Why don't you make them governors?" replied the President of the Council. He might as well have said, "Why don't you place them in the Council of the Empire?" If you set a rogue to watch a rogue, they combine, and in order to render their gains sufficient, they double their extortions. This is what happened on the present occasion. The superintendents placed themselves on a footing with the superintended, and were soon in connivance with all these officers, who grew rich at the expense of the public. The following is an instance which happened at Novgorod. M. Sukovkin, the Governor of that Province, had committed great embezzlements, which came to the knowledge of the Emperor, without any notice having been given to the competent authorities; thanks to the relationship of M. S. with

Kleinmichel, who was already in great favour with Nicholas; his Majesty informed M. Bludorf, who acquainted Count Benkendorf with the matter. The Minister of Police immediately sent a severe reprimand to the colonel of gens-d'armes at Novgorod, who had not made any report to him on the abuses which were committed in the circle under his inspection. The colonel was a German; and "a German," as the Russians say, "is never burnt nor drowned." He went and threw himself at the feet of Countess Orloff, who was then performing her devotions in a convent at Novgorod, and whose piety disposed her to clemency. The artful colonel vowed to her that it was his amiable disposition which ruined him, and that it was from pure good nature that he had winked at all the abuses which were committed in the Province. The countess wrote to her husband, and the colonel's pardon was secure.

Latterly, Count Benkendorf lost both his

memory and inclination to work. He did not even read the letters which were addressed to him, and overlooked the most important matters. He has forgotten many in exile, and others in prison. General Douvelt was his factotum, who took with both hands, and it was therefore more than once in contemplation to dismiss him; but Count Benkendorf having declared that in that case he would immediately quit the service, the Court shut their eyes, waiting for the time when the count should do the same; but after his death they forgot to open them.

It is well known that Count Benkendorf was the director of several steam navigation and other companies, which was a source of revenue to him, and a more or less illicit protection to the parties interested. He did not disdain the most trifling presents, if they were adroitly made, and we know of a certain emerald necklace which obtained for M. L. the order of St.

Stanislaus. We could also name some diamonds which were offered on the occasion of a marriage, and to which Count B. is indebted for retaining his title, which was strongly disputed. "His family being equally rich and powerful, it would not have been advisable to deprive him of it," was the plea urged by Count Benkendorf to the Emperor, and there the matter dropped. But I will not dwell on these petty matters, which are so common in Russia, where it is considered a merit to take but little and to receive indirectly.

Count Benkendorf died in the bosom of the Catholic church, through the influence of Madame Krudner, to whom he latterly devoted his fortune, his time, and his repose. He had conceived for her that affection of an old man, which ends only with life, a platonic and unhappy affection which hastened his end. His conversion was not made known till after his death, and greatly scandalized the Emperor and

Court, but his having become a Roman Catholic is said to have saved a great number of innocent persons, who professed the same religion.

Madame Krudner designated him the best man in the world; and her opinion has become that of the whole country; and for my own part I take pleasure in not contradicting it, especially considering the wrongs which the Count may have done me.

COUNT ORLOFF, who has just succeeded Count Benkendorf, is one of the confidants of his Majesty. He owes his rise to the events of the 26th of December, 1825. Being at that time colonel of the regiment of horse guards, the barracks of which are nearest to the palace, he was the first to place himself at the head of his men, and march to Isaac Square. He has since been loaded with favours and kindnesses. One day, however, the Emperor struck him on the chest, upon which the favourite thought fit to be offended, and to say that he was

old, and had need of repose. "Never mind that," answered the Czar, "go wherever you please." Orloff was confounded, he immediately redoubled his assiduity and attention to the Autocrat, who soon forgot this incident, but said on another occasion, "Nobody is so indispensable to me, Tschernyschef." Count Orloff, when he was made Minister of Police, made a profound observation: "I do not comprehend the utility of all this institution." May the Count one day see its total inutility, and contribute to abolish it.

TSCHERNYSCHEF, Minister of War, owes his rise to the skill with which he searched the archives of France, in 1811, and procured the plans and the projects of the campaign of 1812. Being raised to the rank of General, he entered Cassel, and since that time, the expression, "When I took Cassel!" is always in his mouth.

At the accession of the Emperor Nicholas, he manifested cruel energy in

the persecution of the conspirators. An officer who had been unjustly accused, and was bold in the consciousness of his innocence, was provoked to an expression of anger towards him, and on that account was worse dealt with than the guilty. He himself superintended the condemnation of Count Tschernyschef, in order to get possession of his property. The Emperor went and presented him to the mother of the accused, and endeavoured to persuade her to adopt him, but this worthy lady answered that, though she gladly received his Majesty's Adjutant-General, yet she could never look upon him as a relative. The affair was then brought before the Council of the Empire, and when the reporting secretary stated that he could not find a law in support of the demand which was made for the transfer of the estates of Count Tschernyschef to the General, a noble and clever member of the council said, "Search diligently, it must be found!"

The secretary persisting in his assertion, Count M——— added, "There is a law, which enacts that the property of the person executed belongs to the executioner!" Thus alluding to an English law, which gives to the executioner the boots of the person whom he has executed.

Being disappointed in his hopes, Tschernyschef turned his thoughts to marriage. Three ladies, whom he espoused successively contributed to make his fortune. Instead of the title Count he has obtained that of Prince.

Count Cancrin was the only statesman in Russia who possessed considerable knowledge, though he was rather deficient in the very branch which was under his administration. He was a very good bookkeeper; but chemistry, mechanics, and technology, were wholly unknown to him. The sense of duty predominated over all his German nationality; he really aimed at the good of Russia; but at the same time

he did not neglect his own affairs, which his post peculiarly enabled him to attend to. Colbert has been reproached for his fortune; but we may be permitted to reproach Count Cancrin with his, even though he leaves the trouble of spending it to his children. He has amassed an amount of 400,000 rubles. "All this will pass over," says he, "my children will take care of it."

He was the most ardent partisan of the prohibitive system, as well as that of manufactures; but the favouring impulse which he gave to the latter does not compensate for the sufferings of agriculture, to which he refused to pay attention. A truly Russian heart would not have fallen into this error, and would have known that the Empire is, in an especial manner, an agricultural country.

The question of the slavery of the vassals was above the sphere of this minister; and his regulations respecting the coinage

were a mere groping in the dark, where, by dint of feeling at random, he sometimes hit the right mark. He, however, opposed the dissipation of the Emperor with a perseverance which the Czar called obstinacy, without venturing to cross him too much. The merit of Mazarin is that of having given Colbert to Louis XIV. Count Cancrin, by leaving M. Vrontschenko as his successor, has rendered a very ill service to Russia.

Count Kleinmichel, a count by the favour of Nicholas, like almost all the counts and princes who serve him, is a creature of Count Arakhtschéief, and a most ungrateful man to his former master, for he was the first to turn his back upon him when the Emperor abandoned him; and hence it is not surprising that Arakhtschéief, when he was asked for information respecting his former aid-de-camp, should have replied that "he did not know him." However, when the complaints which his

administration excited reached his ears, he exclaimed, "Do not complain too much, I will give you my Petrouscha;" and in fact the latter is already following him with gigantic strides, both in the favour of his master and in the hatred of the people. It is affirmed that the Grand Duke Michael said to the chief of the department of Public Works, after he had caused some cadets to be flogged and sent as private soldiers to the Caucasus, "You have cast a stain on the reign of my brother!" The nobility, for the first time, murmured loudly; the mothers complained, and took their children out of the hands of the executioner.

The secret of the ties which unite this man to Nicholas, is not so much the conformity of their tastes and character, as reciprocal forbearance. The Sovereign must doubtless take care of him who takes care of his mistresses.

Count Kleinmichel is the most brutal

functionary in the Russian empire; and this is saying a great deal, where so many people glory in being such.

The Winter Palace, so tyrannically rebuilt, has raised the fortune of the count; nor has the falling of St. George's Hall injured his prospects. "Make yourself easy," said the Emperor, "the fault is all my own, I was in too great a hurry;" and, as a colonel who was present, and looking up at the ill-fated ceiling, thus suffered the semblance of a beard to be visible above his cravat, the Emperor vented his spleen upon him.

The predecessors of Count Kleinmichel, in his post of head of the department of Public Works, were MM. Toll and Betancourt, men of probity and talent, who enjoyed a high degree of public esteem, but could not succeed in persuading the Government to adopt their plans,—a government which is so lavish for itself, and so niggardly for objects of public utility. Seeing

that with eight millions it was not possible to give good roads to Russia, M. Betancourt turned all his solicitude to the corps of cadets, which was confided to his care, and organized it on the model of the Polytechnic School; but here too the German spirit did not fail to attain the ascendant over the French, and the Prince of Wurtemburg, who took the direction of that department after M. Betancourt, replaced the whole on the ancient footing. Count Toll was a distinguished chief of the Staff under Diebitsch, in the campaigns both of Turkey and Poland.

Count Kisselef, Minister of the Domains, is one of the leaders of the Russian opposition, of the liberal party, and a reformer; an opposition which cannot be called one: a liberalism which is so only in name; reforms, which are destitute of plan. He is considered as the most dangerous enemy of the Emperor, for the inevitable effects of his measures are to

raise discontent, and seem calculated to excite revolutions.

Being a moderate liberal, and not daring on open opposition; a moderate statesman, and under the influence of such opposing principle, he cannot pursue a steady course. Instead of seeing in his injudicious measures a tendency to revolution, it would be better to ascribe them only to the bad faith of his agents. What does him most honour is that of being an advocate for the emancipation of the serfs; but the old Russian party stops his mouth, whenever he reproaches them with not having a peasantry. The considerable possessions of his adversaries should, however, impose on them more disinterested language.

M. Ouwarof, Minister of Public Instruction, who is not yet a count, but must, doubtless, ere long acquire that title, is a man of knowledge and understanding, but deficient in the qualities of right feeling.

His self-love and his vanity are equalled only by the envy which he cherishes towards all those who advance more rapidly than himself.

"I and the Emperor have decided," he repeats at the end of every sentence; and then, correcting himself, begins again: "The Emperor and I have, &c., &c." *Nationality* and *Autocracy* are the motto of his administration; he is now as devoted to absolutism as he was formerly liberal: nay, he is even more so. M. Ouwarof is too good a philosopher to be deeply versed in other branches of learning, which however does not restrain him from dictating his ordinances like a sovereign lord, in medicine as well as in jurisprudence.

"You are wrong to think of professing political economy," observed he to M. Dsch * * *; "political economy is not a science; you ought rather to take up history." It is but justice to say, in spite

of every defect, that the administration of M. Ouwarof has been favourable to education, especially to the higher branches.

It is, besides, an easy task for one who succeeds to the ministry after such a man as Schichkof. We find the following anecdote in the memoirs which he left behind him. He was on his way to Moscow with the Emperor Alexander, and his Majesty having gone to some distance from his equipage, the minister who was left alone began to contemplate the heavens. He there distinguished, as he says, two clouds, one of which resembled in shape a dragon, such as it is represented on paper, and the other a lobster. The two images advanced against each other, and commenced a desperate conflict, and the dragon was destroyed. The minister considered this as an emblem of the war of 1812 which had just broken out, but which of the two belligerent parties was represented by the lobster? "Evidently Russia! because in

that language the two words begin with the letter R!"

Prince Volkonsky, Minister of the Court, was the friend and the drudge of the Emperor Alexander, who often carried his familiarity so far as to treat him extremely ill. One day, when bad tea had been set before him, he compelled the prince to swallow the whole pot full. Another time, when Prince Volkonsky spoke contemptuously of the Polish ladies, the chivalrous Alexander, who was just then in love with Madame Naryshkin (a Princess Czetwertinski) gave him a box on the ear; and, in 1814, when he was about to set out from Paris, a carriage with indifferent horses was brought him, upon which the Czar scolded the prince as if he had been a groom.

The following anecdote will convey an idea of the administration of the prince in particular, and of that of the Russian Government in general. A ring had dis-

appeared from a casket of jewels; the sentinel was asked if he had seen any person enter the room where the theft had been committed, and in this case whether he could recognize the individual. On his answering in the affirmative he was taken to the office of the ministry, and had no difficulty in pointing out the clerk whom he had seen enter. Volskonsky struck this unlucky man, and expelled him from the service, with a certificate, in these terms, "Dismissed on suspicion of theft." The prospects of the young man were inevitably ruined, and his family and himself dishonoured for ever. Fortunately, his father was a retired general, a man of honour and high principle. He immediately addressed a letter to the Emperor, in which he said that, "having no proofs of the crime of his son, he knew not whether he ought to drive him from his presence, or to press him to his bosom. He therefore begged the Sovereign, not as Czar, but as a father, to cause

inquiry to be made into the affair." He put on his uniform, and went to present his letter to Nicholas, just when the guard was being mounted. It was then discovered that the person who had stolen the ring was a porter of the hotel. The Emperor took the young man into his chancery, but Prince Volkonsky retained his post.

The following fact will furnish another proof of how far the Russian Ministers are from being disinterested.

A dealer in Persian shawls, at Moscow, was ordered to wait upon the Empress, as she passed through that city. She selected two shawls, inquired the price, and ordered them to be paid for. The shawls were taken, but the dealer with difficulty obtained a part of his money, and was compelled to submit to a reduction. M. R., a jeweller, had to complain of a similar proceeding on the part of the Minister of the Court.

M. PEROVSKY will be honourably distinguished in the annals of the Russian admi-

nistration: he is far superior to all his predecessors, by his activity and his zeal in promoting what is good. His entrance into the Department of the Interior has been signalized by laudable regulations and measures. He has made a useful *razzia* against the governors, and has been very fortunate in the appointment of successors to many of them. He vigorously attacked the unworthy police of St. Petersburg, and desisted only in consequence of the Imperial protection, which has obtained for M. Kakoschkin the nickname of "*Cache Coquin*." The agent of the ministerial department had discovered at St. Petersburg the existence of a band of robbers, amounting to several hundred men. M. Perovsky demanded the dismissal of M. Kakoschkin, but his Majesty contented himself with reprimanding him, and told the minister, "that it was thanks to the grand master of police that he had slept in tranquillity for twenty years!" The malefactors were pun-

ished, but some intriguers contrived to persuade the Emperor that he had punished innocent men; and the credit and the zeal of M. Perovsky hereby sustained a great shock.

No choice which Nicholas has made for the Department of the Interior appears to have been so happy as that of Perovsky. Lanskor was a cypher, and Zagreosky a narrow-minded man, who, during the cholera at Moscow, caused the chests of tea to be fumigated! and awakened his clerks in consequence of *important* ordinances which prescribed a new mode of *wiping pens!* His successor Bludof, was an intelligent and upright minister, but devoid both of system and energy, though he is accused of cruelty in drawing up the reports of the committee which was appointed to investigate the affair of the conspirators of 1825; a task which has insured him a brilliant career. He has since succeeded Count Speranski in the office of drawing up the laws, without

however filling up the vacuum which has been left by the death of that excellent man, the only learned lawyer in Russia. Count Strogonof, who was called to succeed Bludof, and who was thought to be a man of strong mind, proved to be worse than weak. At the time when he was Governor-General of Charkof, he had already given many proofs of inability, but which, thanks to the favour of Bludof, passed unperceived. One day the Emperor pointed out to him a street in Charkof, which he wished out of the way. Count Strogonof immediately had bills posted on every house, which stated the time when it would be pulled down, and replaced by another. He listened neither to remonstrances nor entreaties, and caused his orders to be executed to the letter.

The circumstance which led to his dismissal, deserves to be related. An ex-officer of the guards asked the protection of the Grand Duke Michael to obtain the

office of a *gorodnitschi.* His Imperial Highness gave him a letter of recommendation to Count Strogonof, who having consulted his lists, declared that he had not a place vacant. But the officer was not discouraged, and had recourse to the chief of the Chancery of the Minister, who was of opinion that for 5000 rubles, a vacant place might be found. The officer went and informed the Grand Duke of the result of his application, upon which his Highness gave him the 5000 rubles from his privy purse. The same evening he met Count Strogonof at the palace, and told him that he had become his creditor; and then informed the Emperor of the whole proceeding. His Majesty exclaimed, that he would rather have in his service "able men who stole, than men who suffered others to steal without perceiving it." He immediately became cool towards his minister, who asked leave of absence for four months. "Four years, if you please," replied the Emperor.

Count Strogonof then solicited the post of Ambassador at Vienna; Nicholas answered that he alone had the appointment of persons to those offices. The minister asked no explanation of this evasive refusal, and retired to Paris, where he is seen assiduously attending public lectures; better late than never; it is true that these are medical lectures.

PRINCE MENTSCHIKOF, the Minister of Marine, is rather witty and rich, than profound and independent. He is seen to wait for hours together for Count Kleinmichel to consult him respecting the daily dress of the seamen. The count is considered as an authority on this subject, which is the Emperor's weak side; and the wit of Mentschikof makes him so many enemies, that he is obliged to seek the support of the strong. Count Nesselrode is his greatest enemy.

COUNT PANIN has been too good a diplo

matist to be a good minister of justice; but as General Protassof presides in the synod, it is the more easy for Count Panin to take his seat in the senate, where his ability and assiduity are not disputed; this was not the forte of his predecessor M. Daschkof, who considered it his duty not to importune the Emperor.

Prince Vassilitschikof, who received his title from the Emperor, President of the Council of the Empire, and General-in-Chief, is a well meaning man, but has little influence over the Emperor, who in truth will not be advised by any body. "I have reigned these fifteen years; it is too late to teach me how to govern," replied Nicholas, one day when the Prince requested him to modify a severe and unjust measure. His predecessor, Count Novosiltzof, formerly curator of the University of Wilna, has left a painful remembrance behind. He did not hesitate, while at Wilna, to bring

innocent persons into trouble, in order to his own aggrandizement, and to excite plots, for the bare honour of defeating them.

Field-Marshal PASKEWITSCH, Count of Erivan, Prince of Warsaw, has obtained European celebrity, and enjoys an indisputable military reputation. His campaign in Persia was admirable, and that in Asiatic Turkey is a severe criticism on the war carried on upon this side of the Bosphorus. It is true that in these two countries he was opposed by troops but little inured to war. Good fortune has certainly had a great share in his exploits; but, as Suwarrow, who was also reproached with being only fortunate, used to say, "Merit ought surely to be reckoned for something in a succession of victories!" It was necessary to have recourse to Paskewitch to conclude the war in Poland; and his arrival alone raised the spirits of the army. The faults committed by the Poles are evident; but they take little from the merit of Paske-

witsch, who turned them to advantage as he repaired his own. Having been appointed Governor of Poland, he has been so happy in this post as to moderate the cruelties of his master.

Yermolof has been one of the best generals of Russia. It was he who drew up the plans of Borodino and of Kulm, the two battles which have done the most honour to the arms of his country. Yet this brave general has fallen into disgrace; whether it be owing to some dispute with Nicholas at Paris, in 1814, where it is affirmed that he reproved the Grand Duke, who interfered in a review at which he commanded in chief, addressed him in these energetic words: "You are young enough to learn, but not old enough to teach!" or whether he had not shewn much zeal in making his corps take the oath to Nicholas; or, lastly, whether in consequence of the triumph of the German party, which, after the revolt of 1825, gained the ascendancy

over the Russian party, which reckoned Yermolof amongst the most eminent of its leaders, it is difficult to divine. Paskewitsch was sent to watch over his conduct with equal rights. Yermolof planned his ruin, and sent him with a division against the whole corps of Abbas Mirza, following him with the main body to repair the check which the others might suffer. But the result was far otherwise. Paskewitsch defeated the Persians, and Yermolof was recalled. He was received with enthusiasm at Moscow, but he was so impolitic as to resume his uniform, and his popularity died away. Brave, skilful, national—as liberal from discontent as he had been despotic while in power, he remained a living reproach to the Emperor. A fit of remorse caused the order of St. Andrew to be sent to him on the erection of the monument of Kulm.

END OF VOL. I.

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